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Wall Street's Fascist Conspiracy

Testimony that the Dickstein Committee Suppressed

First Article in a New Series

By JOHN L. SPIVAK

Aspects of Soviet Art *By Louis Lozowick*

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New Masses

JANUARY 29, 1935

THE dominant political characteristic in America today is the trend toward fascism, toward the outright dictatorship of the most powerful section of monopoly capitalism. All the politico-economic factors preparatory to fascism have crystallized out of the policies of the New Deal: the rich have gotten richer and the poor poorer. The prerequisites for an American Hitler are here; they have matured at great speed since the bankruptcy of the N.R.A. became clear to every working man and his family in America. Joseph Stalin, in commenting on the victory of fascism in Germany said it must not only be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the working class, and of its betrayal by Social Democracy, which smoothed the way for Hitler: Fascism's success must also be regarded as capitalism's weakness. The ruling class can no longer rule by the old methods of "parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy." It is compelled to resort to "terrorist methods of administration."

THIS is evident today, the sixth winter of capitalist breakdown. John L. Spivak, in our current series "Wall Street's Fascist Conspiracy" presents facts which prove to the hilt that the American ruling class is, today, not merely contemplating "terroristic methods"—it has actually embarked upon them. The Red scare campaign gains momentum daily; the measures against labor are becoming more openly brutal, while the onrush toward war is clear to millions. The American Navy is preparing to perform war maneuvers in the Pacific. Appropriations towards the next armed conflict have increased from $479,000,000 in 1934 to $612,000,000 in 1935. Roosevelt has asked for $792,000,000 for 1936. As M-day nears, the necessity for crushing every anti-war force weighs more heavily upon the war-makers. Fascism is the prerequisite for war. Hence the Wall Street conspiracy. Hence the search for a fascist army and a man on a white horse to lead the army. THE NEW MASSES presents the Spivak series so that everyone who reads will be stirred into action; the unity of all opposed to the victory of fascism in this country is an absolute necessity. Fascism is not inevitable: but capitalism's attempt to bring it here has begun.

NEARING THE ZERO HOUR — *Limbach*

HOW rapidly President Roosevelt is moving to the Right, and by moving to the Right we don't mean to imply that he has ever played in left field, was doubly emphasized by the ukase which he has just issued denying the power of the Labor Relations Board to reinstate an employe fired for organizational activities. A controversy had arisen between the Board and the National Recovery Administration over the Board's order to reinstate Dean S. Jennings whom Hearst had fired from The San Francisco Call-Bulletin for his activities in behalf of the American Newspaper Guild. The Board had maintained that Jennings was justified in his demands for reinstatement under Section 7a of the Recovery Act but this was bitterly fought by Donald Richberg, Roosevelt's present Man Friday, who contended that Hearst was right and that the Board could not properly assume jurisdiction. The case, under the dictation of Roosevelt and Richberg will therefore be handled by the code labor boards, which means that it will come under the authority of Richberg, who has made no bones about displaying his sympathy for the big time publishers and his approval of Jennings' dismissal. The newspaper publishers, in fact, were so reassured by the President's decision that they at once called off a conference

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which was to be held January 28 in New York City, a "satisfactory adjustment of the differences which necessitated the call" having been made.

THE President's ukase, however, has implications which go further than the Jennings' case alone. It means that Richberg and Roosevelt are busily pulling the teeth out of the Labor Relations Board, the court of last resort to which labor could appeal. The Board never had many molars anyway and unlike the old farmer who said he had only two teeth but thank God they met, the teeth of the Board only met when its jaw was properly dislocated by some fighting organization like the Newspaper Guild. Hereafter labor must apply to the code labor boards which are under Richberg's thumb and he, as everyone knows, is one of the most assiduous boot-lickers big business has in its address book. There are certain to be repercussions to this decision of the President, for the President's order naturally implies that hereafter big business can hire and fire as it pleases, that it can smash unions and that it will be soon empowered by the administration to crush any movement that might oppose the corporate state. Roosevelt in his orders concerning the Labor Relations Board has proved once again that he and Mussolini will soon be shouting compliments to each other across the sea.

THE trial of eighteen working-class organizers on charges of criminal syndicalism began last week in Sacramento, California, and all the powers of reaction and terrorism are mobilizing their forces to make certain that they will be railroaded to jail for from three to fourteen years. Backing the court are the organizations responsible for the rule of terrorism during the general strike in San Francisco—the American Legion, the state Chamber of Commerce and the Associated Farmers of California. As our readers know these eighteen workers were arrested during the Vigilante raids last summer after they had succeeded in organizing the cotton and fruit pickers in the great central valleys. As a result of the strikes wages were increased and conditions improved among these itinerant workers who are perhaps the most exploited class in the whole country. At the opening of the trial Leo Gallagher emphasized the obvious illegality of the arrests which were made by the police without warrants. Under cross examination the under sheriff responsible for the illegal act frankly admitted that he hated Communists, while the judge presiding over the case showed every sign of holding the same attitude. It is evident that the eighteen workers there can expect only ruling class justice in a ruling class court.

RECENT developments in the revolutionary civil war in China confirmed the analysis of The Daily Worker and China Today, of December, 1934, in regard to the evacuation of the Red capital, Juikin. An editorial in THE NEW MASSES overstressed the danger of the loss of Juikin, thus inadvertently leading to a pessimistic conclusion. As a matter of fact, the Chinese Red Army evacuated Juikin and a large part of Kiangsi province as a tactical move to break through the blockade and create new and more favorable conditions for the development of the Soviet revolution in China. Chiang Kai-shek's anti-soviet campaign was primarily directed against the central North Soviet District in Kiangsi. His plan was to bottle up the best Red troops in this section and annihilate them. For this purpose, he mobilized seventy-six divisions of regular troops, two-thirds of the officially registered divisions of all China, and let loose 300 military airplanes, half of which bombarded the central northern Soviet district every day. Resisting with all the forces at its disposal, Soviet China developed an offensive tactic and instead of staking everything to defend the central Soviet district, the main target of Chiang Kai-shek, at all cost, it proceeded to attack along three lines.

THE first move of this new tactical line started last July when the Seventh Red Army Corps left the central Soviet territory and established a new Soviet and partisan territory on the borders of Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi and Anhui, which is situated at the flank of the main body of the enemy's troops. One of the main tasks of this force is to develop the struggle north-eastward and act as a vanguard of the mass movement for armed resistance against Japanese imperialism. The second move was last August when the Sixth Red Army Corps fought its way from the central Soviet territory to the provinces of Hunan and Kweichow, thus converging with the Second Red Army Corps commanded by General Ho Lung. The third move consists of the westward march of the main body of the Red troops from the central Soviet district in Kiangsi toward Szechuan. The bourgeois press dispatches from China repeatedly report that this army has succeeded in breaking through the blockade of the Kuomintang troops and is approaching its goal in Szechuan province. Many towns and considerable territory in Hunan, Kwangsi, Kweichow and Szechuan have recently been occupied by the Red forces. One Red detachment is reported to be near Kweiyang, the capitol of Kweichoy province. The latest Associated Press dispatch, dated January 12, reports that, "effective government opposition to the roving Red hordes [is] apparently unlikely for the present . . . mobility [of the Red troops] makes pursuit by government forces difficult . . ." Thus, although Soviet China suffered temporarily from loss of territory in the Central Soviet District, the loss is compensated by the occupation of new extensive territories by the Red Army and by the opening up of new perspectives for the development of Soviet China. The new tactical methods have proved to be successful.

THE successes of the Chinese peasants and workers army are being charted with big, red-headed thumb tacks in the Tokyo War Office. Koki Hirota, in his report at the opening of the Diet, said: ". . . the Japanese government will be obliged to continue to watch with concern the activities of the Communist Party and armies in China." The Reds are endangering Japan's imperialist designs in China. Economic conditions in the Mikado's land are approaching rock bottom; the temporary gain due to replenishment of war materials is at its end. The most important Japanese article for export—raw silk—cannot be sold and this has created a serious depression in Japanese agriculture. The bad rice harvest in fifteen districts of the islands aggravates everything. Two million peasants are reported starving; 60,000 peasant girls were sold into prostitution and to the big factories the past year. Nevertheless the peasantry cannot pay off the debts which amount to the colossal figure of ten billion yen. Tokyo makes wild maneuvers, floundering this way and that in its attempt to reach good, fruitful markets. Hence its "concern" over China. And the Tanaka plan is no back number. Jap

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army trucks are moving across the plains and passes from Chasigteh in Jehol province to Dolon Nor in Chahar, Mongolia. "Once there," the Times correspondent writes, "they would be astride the great caravan route between China and Russia and they would cut the main communications between these countries." Japan will not surrender its plans for making Lake Baikal a Nipponese boundary. And Hitler waits. Since the Saar plebiscite he has turned his attention Eastward. Berlin and Tokyo are considering timing their attack on the Soviet Union—hoping to present the rest of the world with a *fait accompli,* shrewdly banking on the consequent support of the big powers who need little encouragement to join in another adventure of intervention upon the U. S. S. R. Great Britain is stumping for the open re-armament of Germany; Italy and France are talking things over quietly. The danger of a temporary unity of all the imperialist nations around the slogan "Crush the Soviet Union" is greater today than ever before.

A PACK of terribly indignant liberals, ranging from the admirers of Trotsky and Zinovieff to merely muddle-headed professors, have started a drive to injure the American workers' defense organizations. This, of course, takes the form of "humanitarian" sympathy with the executed White Guards and counter-revolutionary plotters in the Soviet Union. Statements are made that 125 persons were executed in "secret political trials," that Kamenev and Zinovieff, in spite of their abject confessions and numerous retractions may be "friends of the workers" merely trying to "improve conditions" in the Soviet Union, etc. On these premises, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners has been attacked for its refusal to "protest" the Soviet executions. Dr. Horace Kallen, a member of the committee, has resigned. His resignation was followed by that of a few others. An invitation to debate the question with John Howard Lawson, another committee member, was declined by the "liberal and open-minded" Dr. Kallen, on the ground that the subject was "undebatable." Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, having accepted the same challenge, withdrew after the publicity was out. In the Nation of Jan. 23, however, he denounces the "slaughter of men and women" in the Soviet Union, links Soviet justice with the Nazi blood-purge, and speaks of the "prostituted Russian government press." There is more behind these attacks than the tenderheartedness of "humanitarians." Astuter persons than those mentioned are attempting to cripple the machinery of workers' defense in America, with fascist intentions. The National Committee's reply is that its members have always known its constitutional function: to defend persons engaged in industrial struggles against discrimination by capitalist courts and police. It has never pretended to defend other political prisoners, and specifically not the enemies of the working class. Its record of heroic activity during a number of years speaks for itself. On Jan. 20, an organization calling itself the "International Committee for Political Prisoners" sent a protest to Soviet Ambassador Troyanovsky. Leading signers were Sinclair Lewis, Prof. John Dewey, James H. Maurer, John Haynes Holmes, Roger Baldwin, Arthur Garfield Hays. The organization is not listed in the telephone book. We understand that it consists of a desk at a Fifth Avenue address.

THOUGH the decision of the United States Supreme Court in regard to Tom Mooney's plea for a writ of habeas corpus is a moral victory it still leaves him in San Quentin prison faced with the same class antagonism he has been fighting ever since he was railroaded eighteen years ago. For eighteen years he has been appealing to California courts, yet he must turn to the state courts again before he can seek a writ in the Supreme Court. The moral victory for Mooney is (1) the admission on the part of the Supreme Court that the evidence against him was perjured evidence and (2) it implies that if the state courts deny him relief Mooney can again appeal to the Supreme Court for relief. But hope for justice in the California courts for Tom Mooney is beyond human imagination. The courts of California, like courts elsewhere, are instruments utilized by the ruling class to protect their own interests. Mooney is an enemy of this class and though the evidence against him has been proved time and again to have been perjured evidence, though witnesses have repudiated their testimony given at the trial, though jurors and the judge have petitioned for a new trial for him, Mooney still remains in prison. He has steadfastly refused a parole as a betrayal of his cause. Asked by Theodore Dreiser a year or so ago, when he expected to get out, Mooney replied, "When the working class forces my release."

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Security—for Wall Street

"There is not a single dictate of business judgment that has been neglected in framing this legislation."—Senator Robert F. Wagner in introducing the Wagner-Lewis Economic Security Bill.

"The basis of economic security for the American people is to be found in security of livelihood for all workers and their families, who constitute the great majority of the American people and whose collective working efficiency is the source of wealth."—Mary van Kleeck at the National Congress for Unemployment Insurance in Washington.

SENATOR WAGNER'S first concern is the approval of Wall Street, and he emphasizes the "business judgment" in drafting the bill, to assure business that it will get what "security" is coming.

Mary van Kleeck is concerned primarily with "the great majority of the American people . . . whose collective working efficiency is the source of wealth." It is their security that the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill (H. R. 2827) contemplates.

When an able demagogue receives what he thinks is a "wide mandate from the people" the moment has arrived for his smartest strokes at gypping the people. This "security program" is Roosevelt's prize gold brick. It will tie up the American people to the worst insecurity of all, an insecurity cloaked in frigid forms of law and practically unchangeable for a generation.

The Wagner-Lewis Bill must be fought with all the massed power of the people it intends to victimize.

On analysis the bill reveals the criminal attack on the masses which Senator Wagner's telltale admission suggests. A bland vagueness marks every provision. The states are left to fix arbitrarily the lengths of insurance payments and their amounts. As to the waiting period, the administration merely makes "recommendations." The bill applies, apparently, only to industrial workers, leaving out the broad strata of farm labor, domestic workers, transport and professional workers.

Nothing can safeguard its control by local political gangs. There is an absence of guarding clauses to prevent discrimination against Negroes, and other racial minorities and foreign born. Trade union standards will inevitably be slashed as a result of the miserably low level of compensation.

As we have noted before, the 15,000,000 or more now unemployed are ignored, but they are to be marked off as a pariah section and sent to subsistence labor. The first payments under the Wagner bill cannot be made until January 1, 1936, and probably not until long after, since the states must legislate.

What of the Workers' Bill, H. R. 2827? It is a model of direct, specific and immediate legislation for social justice to the great majority of producers. Where the Wagner-Lewis Bill is subserviently hesitant, its provisions are clear and unequivocal. It includes all categories of wage-earning and salaried workers. It provides for administration by commissions of those most concerned, the workers and farmers. It calls for payment for the full term of unemployment at a wage equal to the local average wage, but in no case less than $10 per week, with $3 additional for each dependent. It guards against discrimination on grounds of sex, youth, or nationality. It is operative immediately upon enactment, and demands full benefits to those now unemployed. The Wagner Bill proposes to raise the cost of insurance by a tax on total payrolls, which of course will be nicked out of pay envelopes.

The President's Old Age and Maternity Bill is even more nebulous than the unemployment insurance program. It binds workers to a lifetime of cuts taken out of pay for a life of miserable poverty after sixty-five. The amount of this far-off benefit is still being haggled over. As it applies to the great mass of labor it will be "financed in equal payments by employers and employes without governmental financial participation." Dependent children are to receive allotments "compatible with decency and health," provided the states contribute two-thirds of the necessary cost.

The Workers' Old Age and Social Insurance provision demands, as a matter of course, old age, sickness and maternity compensation in full, paid by federal tax.

The Wagner Bill is legislative war against the broad masses of the American people, waged by the government's Wall Street agents to "secure" its already restored profits, and to divert surpluses into imperialist war preparations.

The Vets March Again

IT IS SAFE to predict that the President's managerial bloc in Congress will try to put off consideration of the veterans' bonus as long as possible, certainly until the P.W.A. appropriations and the "security" program are out of the way. But before many days the fight will be on. The main demand of the rank and file—immediate cash payment of the bonus, minus interest charges and compromises — has the brightest chance of victory in years.

Roosevelt is certainly counting on his four billion dollar "work relief" plan to help squelch the veterans' demands. But the line-up against him is powerful and growing more so. First of all there was the big membership majority in favor of payment, at the American Legion convention last fall. Attacks on the New Deal from every quarter cause some congressional leaders to hanker after the bonus payment as a sop to criticism. Representative Patman of Texas, proposer of an immediate payment bill, recently stated that "at least 300 House members and seventy Senators are pledged to vote for the cash payment of the bonus." In the event of a veto, he said, "at least 290, or two-thirds of the House will vote to override, while sixty-three senators will do it." As recently as Jan. 20, House spokesmen said that the bonus legislation would be the one exception to their approval of White House measures, but they are maneuvering for some workable compromise, which we are certain will not be acceptable to the rank and file.

But opposition to the payment of adjusted compensation certificates, outside the administration, is powerful and works in the dark. It is led by the National Economy League, and the top leadership of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Veterans Association. No one will feel surprised that the bitterest op-

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"WE'RE ALL FOR IT!" *Russell T. Limbach*

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position comes from groups who got as high as 800 percent profits out of the war, which created hundreds of huge fortunes that continue to prey on the destitute. The National Economy League, organization of big business, is the most active and articulate enemy of the bonus payment. Henry H. Curran, for example, a director of the N.E.C., in a recent circular letter to Congress asserted that most of the veterans were "in perfect health," yet that they had already got "more relief than any other class of Americans."

"Will you take this out of us in taxes all at once," he asks querulously, "or try to borrow it from somebody else or run it off the printing presses in inflated money?" Further on he speaks of the "impatience with which our hard-pressed American people will look upon the idea of paying a bonus to a favored few ten years before it is due to them."

The bonus is a just debt of back pay long overdue. The "hardest pressed" Americans, the majority of workers, do not look upon veterans as a "favored few." They heartily support this payment to their fellow workers.

The National Rank and File Veterans' Convention opens in Washington on January 24. The recruiting booths opened by the American League of Ex-Servicemen are mobilizing hundreds of members of the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and other ex-servicemen's organizations for the march on Washington, demanding action on their three point program: immediate payment of the "bonus" without interest charges, the repeal of the National Economy Act, and passage of the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill, H. R. 2827. . . . The march of the veterans to the Capital and their own solidarity backed by nation-wide popular support can win the bonus.

The Red Plot Thickens

THE Red-baiting campaign thus far shows no signs of let-up; on the contrary it gathers a wide assortment of recruits daily from the newspaper hacks whose editorial opinions are dictated by their pocketbooks. The lords of the press are more than willing to buy up at any price those who can yell "Bolshevik" loudest. Vying with Hearst these days is Bernarr Macfadden, muscle-bound disciple of vegetarianism and the great out-doors. Mr. Macfadden owns the magazine Liberty (My country, right or wrong) and he counts no week lost if an anti-Communist article appears in his publication.

His January 19 issue carried an article by Matthew Woll, "Can the Reds Destroy Us" (Reading time: 17 minutes 50 seconds). It was characterized by all the hysterical claptrap and invective Mr. Woll reserves for those moments when he tells the world about Communism. Communists are never workingmen, nor do they come from the masses. They are always furtive agents of Moscow slinking around the country performing miracles of misguided valor. They are pulling strikes all over the country. They browbeat the timid longshoremen of the West Coast into a general strike. They sought to "bring about a coast-wide revolutionary situation by September 1." Communists, concealing somehow the Mongoloid or Slavic cast of their features, slipped furtively about the country distributing leaflets, and the hungry of Minneapolis, Toledo, New York and Birmingham stormed into the streets and fought with the police. Every strike of the American workingmen is a dire Red plot to extend the Kremlin to Capitol Hill. For, as Mr. Woll said, "A Soviet here would mean the annexation of the United States by Moscow. Automatically." The Communists (though their party is on the ballot and is a "legal" party) are "an alien enemy preparing for the bloody conquest of the United States."

Mr. Woll managed to include practically every current falsification about the Communists. Although the Communists have reiterated a thousand times their methods for winning a classless society, the enemies of the working-class continue to charge them with individual terrorism and other such inventions. (We can refer Mr. Woll to William F. Dunne's articles in THE NEW MASSES of June 26, July 3 and July 10 in which similar lies by Raymond Moley were spiked.) But these enemies do not want to speak truth. Mr. Woll has too big a stake in the present capitalistic society to dare state the real Communist position. This doughty "labor leader" is a vice-president of the National Civic Federation, the society of big-shots who are ready at any moment to sacrifice every one else's life for America. (The Federation's America consists of that area of Manhattan around Broad and Wall Streets.)

Despite the calibre of these men, we must realize that they move into attack under the guidance or sufferance of the "high quality" rulers of this nation—the Morgans, du Ponts, Owen Youngs. The Hitlers and the Goebbels's do the job for the Thyssens and the Krupps. Hence these attacks, despite their ridiculousness, their falsity, cannot be ignored.

The Communist Party, through its secretary, Earl Browder, wired Fulton J. Oursler, editor-in-chief of the Macfadden publications, the following message:

> Article Matthew Woll in current issue Liberty contains serious falsehoods, misrepresentations of Communist Party. If you have any desire to give your readers accurate information suggest you publish authoritative article setting forth Communist estimate of political situation, aims and perspective from William Z. Foster chairman of Communist Party or myself. Can furnish such article within one week on your request. (Signed) Earl Browder.

To this simple request Mr. Oursler replied with two telegrams, the second one being an afterthought. The first read:

> Thank you for your offer to write answer to Woll article. We have already obtained an answer written by Leon Trotsky which will appear in an early issue.

A day later this arrived:

> Supplementing my former wire it has since occurred to me that Mr. Foster may have comments to make on specific disputed points in Woll article. If so we will be glad to consider a letter for our Vox Pop page from Mr. Foster covering these points.

The fairness of Mr. Macfadden, then, consists of this: He hires Matthew Woll to attack the Communist Party, and then hires Trotsky, counter-revolutionary enemy of the Communist International, to "defend" it. Macfadden's campaign of abuse and slander will continue until the resentment of his readers and the masses of American workers, threatening Macfadden's circulation receipts, forces him to end it.

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WALL STREET'S FASCIST CONSPIRACY

Testimony that the Dickstein Committee Suppressed

JOHN L. SPIVAK

AN ORGANIZED conspiracy exists to seize the government by a fascist coup. The Congressional Committee appointed to investigate just such activities has not only failed to follow the trail of evidence to its fountain head—Wall Street—but has deliberately suppressed evidence pointing in that direction.

In these articles the reality of Wall Street's fascist conspiracy will be made clear; the line-up of financial interests back of the conspiracy will be set forth; and the real role of the Dickstein Committee, which suppressed this evidence, will be revealed.

A suggestion of the existence of Wall Street's fascist conspiracy was made public in November. The Dickstein Committe then was forced to call Gen. Smedley D. Butler, one of those who made the charges, to testify. And that was the end of the Committee's interest in proving the charges.

This series of articles will go deeply into the whole situation, of which only a hint trickled through to the public. The suppression of evidence by the Dickstein Committee reveals the Committee's real character: With an ostensible mission to uncover fascist activities, the Committee actually turned out to be a close collaborator with the would-be fascist rulers of the country; it covered up the conspiracy by suppressing evidence which led too high up in those financial and industrial groups which run Congress, "advise" the President, and dominate the country.

It will be shown that financial and economic class considerations rise above every other kind, including racial and religious ones. The anti-semitic character of Nazism has been abundantly demonstrated in these pages; nevertheless this article, and succeeding ones, will reveal Jewish financiers working with fascist groups which, if successful, would unquestionably heighten the wave of Hate-the-Jew propaganda.

The class basis of social forces is nowhere more clearly revealed than in this situation—capitalists, including Jews, making common cause with anti-semitic fascist and potentially fascist organizations, in an effort to crush labor. The ultimate aim of course is the true fascist one of a "totalitarian state," with all cultural, educational, and political activities inimical to capitalism suppressed. The immediate path to this objective is the destruction of the labor movement and particularly the militant vanguard represented by the Communist Party.

The Dickstein Committee has deliberately suppressed testimony of fascist activities which it had in its possession. This evidence was suppressed because financial powers behind the committee are among the supporters of fascist organizations.

Throughout its investigation of Nazi, fascist and Communist activities the Committee has been careful not to involve certain financial interests—such as J. P. Morgan and Co., Kuhn, Loeb and Co., etc. Felix Warburg, head of the Kuhn, Loeb banking house virtually dominates it as well as the American Jewish Committee, a powerful organization active in fighting the spread of anti-semitism. The American Jewish Committee is controlled by wealthy Jews. However, it has a large following among lower and middle-class Jews who are not aware of the maneuverings of the leadership for its own economic interests. The zeal of the leaders in fighting anti-semitism is tempered by the financial interests of some of them—in the United States and in Nazi Germany—and by the active participation of some of them in fascist organizations in this country.

Shortly after the Dickstein Committee was empowered by Congress to investigate "subversive" activities, leaders of the American Jewish Committee began to steer the Congressional Committee's investigations. In the course of this steering, information was suppressed which reflected upon leading bankers, as well as information of fascist organizations in which they were interested.

Instead of actually seeking evidence of fascist organizations and who are behind them, the Congressional Committee ignored Fascism until its menace here was thrust upon them; and then suppressed vital evidence regarding it. The reason: Wall Street interests such as Morgan's were involved which are tied up with the Warburg interests—which dominate the American Jewish Committee without the knowledge of the overwhelming majority of its membership.

In the course of these articles I shall show:

1. That the Dickstein Committee refuses to explain why it suppressed evidence of fascist organizations and of fascist movements.

2. That the Dickstein Committee knew of the offer made to Gen. Smedley Butler to organize a fascist army of 500,000 men, but ignored this information until it was forced to call Butler.

3. That having called him, the Committee issued a garbled statement of what he said and not until the national furore died down did it issue even *parts* of his testimony.

4. That Gen. Butler named a fascist organization in which some leaders of the American Jewish Committee are active—and that this testimony was suppressed.

5. That a Nazi agent worked in Warburg's Bank of Manhattan and that Felix Warburg was never called upon to explain how he got there.

6. That the Warburg financial interests have heavy investments in Nazi Germany. The American Jewish Committee has steadfastly opposed the boycott of German goods.

7. That the most powerful fascist organizations are controlled by financiers whose interests are controlled by J. P. Morgan's interests.

8. That the Warburg financial interests are tied up with Morgan and consequently work with Morgan men.

9. That Grayson M-P Murphy, involved in the plot to organize a fascist army, is a Morgan man and one of those who originally financed the starting of the American Legion for "Big Business" and who supports disseminators of anti-semitic propaganda; and that knowing all this the Dickstein Committee never called Murphy to explain his activities.

10. That a Hearst man tied up with Morgan interests captured control of the American Legion, which Butler was asked to lead as a fascist army; and that this man, summoned to appear before the Dickstein Committee, was never questioned after he had had a secret conference with President Roosevelt.

11. That the American Liberty League was named by Butler and this fact suppressed by the Dickstein Committee. The League is controlled by Morgan-du Pont interests as well as having Warburg representation on it.

12. That the Remington Arms Co., controlled by Morgan-du Pont, was named as the body which would supply arms and equip-

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ment to the fascist army and that this testimony was suppressed by the Congressional Committee.

13. That Max Warburg, brother of Felix, and directors of the steel trust of Germany, which originally financed Hitler, are in the United States trying to get credits for Hitler's government in copper purchases.

14. That Hearst copper interests were among those being considered at the time Hearst opened his anti-red campaign.

Let us first consider Butler's testimony that he was offered $3,000,000 to organize a fascist army with a promise of $300,000,000 more if it became necessary. I shall review it very briefly to refresh the reader's mind.

Gen. Smedley Butler testified that he was approached by Gerald C. MacGuire, a "$100 a week bond salesman," with an offer of $18,000 in one thousand dollar bills to go to the American Legion convention in Chicago in 1933 to make a speech in favor of the gold standard; it was after this connection was established that MacGuire suggested organizing the fascist army. MacGuire at that time said he was working for Robert S. Clark, who inherited millions of the Singer Sewing Machine fortune. While working for Clark, MacGuire was kept on the payroll of Grayson M-P Murphy, a "Wall Street broker." During the period when these negotiations were going on, MacGuire, who had never owned more than a few thousand dollars, suddenly began to handle large sums of money, depositing and withdrawing amounts running far beyond $100,000. The Dickstein Committee, in examining him, found that he could not account for $65,000 which were spent during the trip to the American Legion convention and that he lied repeatedly about what he had done with certain large sums.

So much for the Butler story; what is not known is that long before General Butler testified, the Congressional Committee investigators knew about it. Nevertheless they did not call Butler, though one of the things they were supposed to investigate was "subversive" activities, including Fascism. The Dickstein Committee called Butler only when it learned that The New York Post and the Philadelphia Record were about to publish the story anyway, which they had learned through their reporter Paul Comley French, a friend of the General's.

The national furore aroused by the story was so great that the Committee had to issue a statement after getting the testimony in secret session. When the excitement died down the Congressional Committee issued a summary of the Butler testimony for the press, Butler having been cautioned not to divulge what happened behind the committee's closed doors, according to the General.

During the course of my investigation into fascist activities in the United States, I persistently asked for the Butler testimony. I was told that "the summation tells the whole story."

"But why can't I see the whole testimony? What is there in it which you do not want me to see?"

"Nothing has been left out, except some hearsay evidence," I was assured. "A few names were mentioned which have nothing to do with the case."

After my persistence had made it clear that my suspicions were growing, I was handed a copy of the hastily published Butler testimony, marked "extracts." At the end of the 125 page record was a note in bold face type:

> **The Chairman: In making public the foregoing evidence, which was taken in executive session in New York City November 20 to 24, inclusive, the Committee has ordered stricken therefrom certain immaterial and incompetent evidence, or evidence which was not pertinent to the inquiry, and which would not have been received during a public hearing.**

The printed question-and-answer testimony gave more information than the summation originally issued by the Committee. I was still curious to know just what "evidence" the Committee considered "immaterial," my curiosity being heightened when I was told by a person in a position to know and who had never told me anything unfounded, that the request to suppress certain parts of Butler's testimony had come from Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury. I could not prove it but I had enough faith in my informant to believe it.

More requests for the uncensored stenographic notes of Butler's testimony met with refusals. The "immaterial evidence" was a carefully guarded secret. Eventually I did obtain these suppressed stenographic notes. With the notes in my possession as well as knowledge of the financial interests within and behind the American Jewish Committee, the leaders of which were steering the Congressional Committee, I called upon the chairman, Congressman John W. McCormack. I had prepared a series of questions for the interview which he had agreed to give me. When I got to the sixth question which probed a little deeper into the suppression of evidence by his Committee, the Congressman became a little nervous.

"Oh, somebody's been telling you things," he said.

"No, no one has been telling me things. I have the stenographic notes."

"Those are executive minutes," he exclaimed. "I can't imagine how they got in your possession. I must find out."

The knowledge that I had the suppressed testimony obviously upset him. The interview had been progressing in a friendly manner until I got to the stage where it seemed that a Congressional investigating committee was being investigated. Suddenly he said abruptly:

"I don't have to answer your questions."

"That's right," I assured him, "you don't."

"And I don't have to give you an interview."

"That's right, too."

"Well then, cancel this interview."

"Okay, I'll cancel it. But don't you think you had better answer the questions?"

"I will not answer any more questions. It is obvious to me that they are cleverly arranged—all leading to one point—you want to hang me."

"No, I don't want to hang you. I think your committee has hanged itself."

General Smedley Butler quoting Robert S. Clark, who sent Gerald C. MacGuire with proposals for a fascist army (the suppressed testimony is in italics):

The Published Testimony:	***What Butler Really Said:***
He (Roosevelt) has either got to get more money out of us or he has got to change the method of financing the Government and we are going to see to it that he does not change that method. He will not change it.	He (Roosevelt) has either got to get more money out of us, or has got to change the method of financing the Government, and we are going to see to it that he does not change the methods. He will not change it. *He is with us now."*
I said, "The idea of this group of soldiers then, is to sort of frighten him, is it?"	I said, "The idea of this great group of soldiers, then, is to sort of frighten him, is it?"
"No, no, no, not to frighten him. This is to sustain him when others assault him."	"No, no, no; not to frighten him. This is to sustain him when others assault him."
	He said, "You know, the President is weak. He will come right along with us. He was born in this class. He was raised in this class, and he will come back. He will run true to form. In the end he will come around. But we have got to be prepared to sustain him when he does."
I said, "Well, I do not know about that. How would the President explain it?"	I said, "Well, I do not know about that. How would the President explain it?"

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"I'll take your notes and the questions and answer such of them as I wish. I want to think them over."

"That's okay," I agreed, handing him the questions.

Some of the brief questions I asked him follow:

Will you define what you mean by Nazism, Fascism, Communism?

Did you ever look into the potential fascist groups like the American Liberty League, Father Coughlin's organization, the Crusaders, etc.?

Did you ever investigate why the American Legion passed the gold resolution while MacGuire was in Chicago with a lot of money?

Why wasn't John Taylor called regarding Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars activities?

Why didn't you investigate the educators' charges that Hearst was carrying on fascist propaganda?

What relationship has your Committee with the American Jewish Committee?

When THE NEW MASSES published evidence that Ralph Easley of the National Civic Federation was secretly reporting to George Sylvester Viereck, the Nazi agent, while the former was distributing *Communism in Germany*, why weren't Easley's finances looked into?

The Jewish-controlled concerns in Chicago who contributed to Harry A. Jung's organization and the money used to disseminate anti-semitic propaganda were known to you. Why wasn't that evidence made public?

Why wasn't the relationship between Kuhn, Loeb and Max Warburg established to determine why a Nazi agent found his way into Warburg's Bank of Manhattan? Why wasn't Felix Warburg questioned about it?

Did you ever investigate the financial tie-ups of bankers and industrialists to determine the motivation in supporting potential fascist groups?

Did you ever investigate Assistant Secretary of War Woodring's statement that the C.C.C. boys would be "economic storm troops" against "social disorders?"

Did you ever investigate why organizations which started out for monetary reform like the Committee for the Nation ended up by carrying on anti-labor propaganda?

Did you ever question Under-Secretary of State Phillips why he met with Easley to try to stop the boycott of German goods and thus give economic aid to the Nazis?

Did you ever get to the bottom of the report that John W. Davis wrote the gold speech passed at the Chicago convention?

I agreed not to use the statements he had made before he cancelled the interview and I gave him the questions with my notes on them. He promised to give me written answers to "those he wanted to answer" within three days. On the day he promised his answer I got it. I read it over five or six times. I still don't know what he is talking about. For the reader's benefit I give his answers. I think they show the state the chairman is in:

My dear Mr. Spivak:

On Saturday last you called into my office for an interview, as a result of which you left with me a number of questions which you intended to ask me. I told you that I would consider them and write you on or before the following Tuesday. I am complying with what I told you, to write you on or before Tuesday Jan. 15.

Pending the report of the committee to the House of Representatives I have discussed only in a limited way with representatives of the press my opinion of the value of some evidence obtained, and the probable recommendations that impressed me personally. The final report and recommendations will be determined later by the full committee.

Assuming the premises upon which they are predicated are correct, and it is plain to me that they are not, some of the questions that you intended to ask relate to matters beyond the jurisdiction of the committee, and its powers of investigation. I, therefore, ignore them.

There are some questions which you intended to ask which I would have no hesitancy in answering if asked by other representatives of the press, and while I am not in sympathy with the policies, associations or affiliations of the publication which you represent, naturally, I would accord you the courtesy and consideration I would extend to others.

You were particularly anxious to find out if the Nazi movement in this country is as active today as it was when the investigation started. As a result of the investigation, and the disclosures made, this movement has been stopped, and is practically broken up. There is no question but what some of the leaders are attempting to carry-on, but they can make no headway. Public opinion, as a result of the disclosures of the investigation is aroused.

The breaking-up of any intolerant movement, the objective of which is to group Americans against Americans, or persons against persons, because of race, color or creed, is beneficial to the country and the people as a whole. The same opinion applies to a movement dedicated to the overthrow of government by legal or illegal means, or a combination of both, employing force and violence, if necessary to obtain the desired objective. The use of lawful or legal means is a right which every person or movement possesses to change, in whole, or in part, our government, even though one may not agree with the methods employed, or the purposes and objectives of such a movement. No person or movement has a right to resort to illegal means to accomplish this end. When such methods are employed, the resort to violence and force, to try and obtain the overthrow of government, whether or not it is or can be accomplished, it is beyond the pale of the Constitution, and of rights guaranteed thereunder.

The reason for certain portions of General Butler's testimony in executive session being deleted from the public record has been clearly stated in the printed public record.

Very truly yours,
John W. McCormack.

All I can say regarding this is that I hope the Committee's report to the Congress will be clearer.

Still searching for the Committee's explanation of why it suppressed testimony of Fascism and fascist organizations, I called upon Congressman Samuel Dickstein, vice-chairman of the Committee on "un-American" activities. Like many others, I refer to this Congressional body as the "Dickstein Committee," chiefly because Dickstein first introduced the bill for the investigation; but calling it the "Dickstein Committee" is a misnomer and a

Gen. Smedley Butler quoting MacGuire, who, the General testified, came to him with an offer to lead a fascist army (the suppressed testimony is in italics):

The Published Testimony:

I said, "Is there anything stirring about it yet."

"Yes," he says; "you watch; in two or three weeks you will see it come out in the paper. There will be big fellows in it. This is to be the background of it. These are to be the villagers in the opera. The papers will come out with it." He did not give me the name of it, but he said it would all be made public; a society to maintain the Constitution, and so forth. They had a lot of talk this time about maintaining the Constitution. I said, "I do not see that the Constitution is in any danger," and I asked him again, "Why are you doing this thing?"

We might have an assistant President, somebody to take the blame; and if things do not work out, he can drop him.

What Butler Really Said:

I said, "Is there anything stirring about it yet."

"Yes," he says; "you watch; in two or three weeks you will see it come out in the paper. There will be big fellows in it. This is to be the background of it. These are to be the villagers in the opera. The papers will come out with it," *and in about two weeks the American Liberty League appeared, which was just about what he described it to be. That is the reason I tied it up with this other thing about Al Smith and some of these other people, because of the name that appeared in connection with this Liberty League.* He did not give me the name of it, but he said that it would all be made public. . . .

We might have an assistant President, somebody to take the blame; and if things do not work out, he can drop him. *He said, "That is what he was building up Hugh Johnson for. Hugh Johnson talked too damn much and got him into a hole, and he is going to fire him in the next three or four weeks."*

I said, "How do you know all this?"

"Oh," he said, "we are in with him all the time. We know what is going to happen."

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grave injustice to the Congressman. It is not his committee. The financial powers in the American Jewish Committee, which directed the Congressional body, simply played circles around the bewildered Congressman. Dickstein never knew, and I doubt if he knows now, just what happened and why certain specific evidence was suppressed. Throughout the whole investigation he kept blundering into things which shouldn't have been blundered into and he could never understand why those steering the Committee opposed probing along lines which would lead to the Warburg-Morgan interests. When I talked with him and pointed out the financial hook-ups he looked sad.

"I wish you had told me that while the Committee was in session," he said plaintively. "I'd have called Murphy and Morgan and Warburg and anyone else involved."

Dickstein's activities in the Committee—such questions as he persisted in asking—were chiefly confined to the Nazis. Communism was really dragged into this investigation; and the financial powers behind the Congressional Committee certainly had no intention of investigating Wall Street's fascist conspiracy until the threat of breaking the Butler story in the press forced them to make a gesture in that direction. The investigation into Communism was steered by the leaders of the American Jewish Committee, Felix Warburg and his non-Jewish Wall Street colleagues, for three reasons:

1. The growing interest in and sympathy with the Communist movement in industries where these financial powers had investments; if the Communist Party could be outlawed it would be of tremendous advantage to the financiers and industrialists guiding the work of the Committee.

2. There was a great deal of publicity in the press and propaganda by Nazi agents that "a Communist is a Jew and a Jew is a Communist."

3. A federal law ostensibly directed at Communists as "subversive elements" could be used to keep labor from doing a great many things, whether labor was affiliated with left-wing organizations or conservative ones like the American Federation of Labor.

Even William Green, president of the A. F. of L., realized that. I was present at the hearing in Washington when Green testified and it was really one of the funniest shows I ever saw. There is nothing that Green would like better than to see the Communist Party outlawed, but Green realized that any such procedure would be directed at all labor, and would eventually endanger his own position. Dickstein and McCormack, neither having a fraction of the knowledge of the labor movement that Green has, tried in a dozen different ways to get Green to say that a bill outlawing the Communist Party would be a good thing—and Green persistently assured them that any such move would react against the A.F. of L. and would be fought.

It was a very depressing hearing for both McCormack and Dickstein (who had competed with one another for the most publicity during the life of the investigation). The two Congressmen had issued statements that they intended to outlaw the Communist Party months before the Committee had finished its investigation!

A good idea of the stature of Dickstein can be had by his answers to some of the questions I asked him.

"Congressman, just what do you mean by Nazism?" I asked.

"Well, Nazism is—you see—you know I'd rather you'd get the definition I gave of it in my last speech."

"Okay. How about Fascism."

"That's in there, too."

I tried again.

"Do you think Fascism is the last stand of capitalism?"

"Certainly," he said. "Powerful wealth is concentrating for its own preservation."

"And your committee was supposed to investigate Fascism?"

"Yes, Fascism. All subversive, un-American movements."

"A real investigation of Fascism or fascist movements in this country would have to take in a study of powerful financial groups and their motivations?"

He looked at me warily, as though fearful of a trap, and nodded solemnly.

"Then why didn't the Committee investigate the financial tie-ups to determine the motives behind such groups as the American Liberty League?"

"Well, we didn't have the time or the money, or we would have."

"What was left out of the Butler story?"

Paul Comley French, reporter for the New York Post, telling of his conversations with Gerald MacGuire (the suppressed testimony is in italics):

The Published Testimony:

At first he (MacGuire) suggested that the General organize this outfit himself and ask a dollar a year dues from everybody. We discussed that, and then he came around to the point of getting outside financial funds, and he said that it would not be any trouble to raise a million dollars.

What French Really Said:

At first he (MacGuire) suggested that the General organize this outfit himself and ask a dollar a year dues from everybody. We discussed that, and then he came around to the point of getting outside financial funds, and he said that it would not be any trouble to raise a million dollars. *He said that he could go to John W. Davis or Perkins of the National City Bank, and any number of persons and get it.*

Of course, that may or may not mean anything. That is, his reference to John W. Davis and Perkins of the National City Bank.

During my conversation with him I did not of course, commit the General to anything. I was just feeling him along. Later we discussed the question of arms and equipment, and he suggested that they could be obtained from the Remington Arms Co., on credit through the du Ponts. I do not think at that time he mentioned the connections of du Pont with the American Liberty League, but he skirted all around it. That is, I do not think he mentioned the Liberty League, but he skirted all around the idea that that was the back door, and that this was the front door; one of the du Ponts is on the board of directors of the American Liberty League and they own a controlling interest in the Remington Arms Co. In other words he suggested that Roosevelt would be in sympathy with us and proposed the idea that Butler would be named as the head of the C.C.C. camps by the President as a means of building up this organization. He would then have 300,000 men. Then he said that if that did not work the General would not have any trouble enlisting 500,000 men.

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"We confined our activities to evidence permissible in a court. We didn't go into the details because it was hearsay."

"But your published records are full of hearsay evidence."

He looked at me, startled.

"They are?"

"Well, why wasn't Grayson M-P Murphy called? Your committee knew that Murphy's men are in the anti-semitic espionage Order of '76; it knew that Murphy was supporting Edmondson in sending out his anti-semitic news releases; it knew that Murphy and Clark were hooked up for years selling bonds together—why wasn't Murphy called?"

"We didn't have the time. We'd have taken care of the whole Wall Street group if we had had the time. I would have no hesitation in going after the Morgans."

"Did you ever go into the fascist—or potentially fascist—groups like the American Liberty League, the Crusaders, etc?"

"No, we went a little into the Black Shirts—it's an organization like the Nazis but it didn't amount to anything. We had no time," he repeated.

"You had Frank Belgrano, commander of the American Legion, listed for testimony. Why wasn't he examined?"

"I don't know," he said. "Maybe you can get Mr. McCormack to explain that. I had nothing to do with it."

"Why didn't you call Easley after THE NEW MASSES had published his secret reports to George Sylvester Viereck, the Nazi agent, and find out about Easley's finances?"

"To the best of my recollection, Easley was called into executive session. He testified about Communism."

"I don't doubt it. But I'm interested in why his finances were not examined since he was distributing an anti-semitic book imported into this country by Viereck."

"I don't know."

"Why weren't the names of the Jewish concerns whose money went to Harry A. Jung in Chicago and which was used for anti-semitic propaganda, made public?"

"I never saw them," he said. "We have so much stuff I haven't had a chance to read all the reports. I wasn't at the Chicago hearing."

"And McCormack wasn't at the Chicago hearing. Then who issued orders not to make those names public?"

"I don't know."

"Why wasn't Edward A. Rumely questioned regarding the Committee for the Nation activities which benefited Nazi Germany and on whose committee Lessing Rosenwald of the American Jewish Committee was active?"

"I couldn't answer that. You'd have to ask McCormack about it."

"Okay. Why wasn't Felix Warburg questioned as to how the Nazi agent F. X. Mittmeier got a job in the Warburg-controlled Bank of Manhattan?"

"I don't know."

"Fascism came at the last moment," he said, switching the subject. "I knew of only one fascist group—the Black Shirts—and they weren't important."

"Didn't Assistant Secretary of War Woodring's statement that the C.C.C. boys would be used as 'economic storm troops against social disorders' sound like Hitler Fascism? Why wasn't Woodring questioned about it?"

"There was no time," the Congressman said dazedly.

"But Woodring is in Washington. And so were you."

"Maybe the Committee felt there was no evidence—maybe."

It was obvious to me that Dickstein simply did not know what was going on around him; when I pointed out the financial tie-ups of the Warburg interests with Morgan interests which Murphy represents and the Warburg group with the American Jewish Committee leadership which was steering the Congressional Committee he was utterly dazed. These tie-ups will be explained in detail in the next article.

In the meantime I offer the suppressed testimony.

The Congressional Committee had Gen. Butler behind closed doors in a secret session. It did not know what Butler might say and it wanted to be in a position to suppress testimony given under oath if this proved necessary. And it was, for Butler named persons whom the Committee should have called to check various angles—persons high in the political and financial world. There is no need of my repeating much of the General's testimony. I shall offer only what the published report by the Congressional Committee says he said and what the carefully guarded stenographic notes show he really said.

Gen. Butler was telling the story of Murphy's man, (MacGuire's) talk with him. In the left column is what the Committee published. In the right column is what Butler actually said—the suppressed testimony being printed in italics.

The Published Testimony:

Then MacGuire said that he was the chairman of the distinguished-guest committee of the American Legion, on Louis Johnson's staff; that Louis Johnson had, at MacGuire's suggestion, put my name down to be invited as a distinguished guest of the Chicago convention.

I thought I smelled a rat, right away—that they were trying to get me mad—to get my goat. I said nothing.

"He (Murphy) is on our side, though. He wants to see the soldiers cared for."

Well, that was the end of that conversation.

What Butler Really Said:

Then MacGuire said that he was the chairman of the distinguished-guest committee of the American Legion, on Louis Johnson's staff; that Louis Johnson had, at MacGuire's suggestion, put my name down to be invited as a distinguished guest of the Chicago convention; *that Johnson had then taken this list, presented by MacGuire, of distinguished guests, to the White House for approval; that Louis Howe, one of the secretaries to the President, had crossed my name off and said that I was not to be invited—that the President would not have it.*

I thought I smelled a rat, right away—that they were trying to get me mad—to get my goat. I said nothing.

"He (Murphy) is on our side, though. He wants to see the soldiers cared for."

"Is he responsible, too, for making the Legion a strike-breaking outfit?"

"No, no. He does not control anything in the Legion now."

I said: "You know very well that it is nothing but a strike-breaking outfit used by capital for that purpose and that is the reason they have all those big club-houses and that is the reason I pulled out from it. They have been using these dumb soldiers to break strikes."

He said: "Murphy hasn't anything to do with that. He is a very fine fellow."

I said, "I do not doubt that, but there is some reason for his putting $125,000 into this."

Well, that was the end of that conversation.

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He (Clark) laughed and said, "That speech cost a lot of money." Clark told me that it had cost him a lot of money. He thought it was a big joke that these fellows were claiming the authorship of that speech.

I think there was one other visit to the house because he (MacGuire) proposed that I go to Boston to a soldiers' dinner to be given in my honor. He suggested that I go up to Boston to this dinner for the soldiers. He said, "We will have a private car for you on the end of the train. You will make a speech at this dinner and it will be worth a thousand dollars to you."

I said, "I never got a thousand dollars for making a speech."

He said, "You will get it this time."

"Who is going to pay for this dinner and this ride up in the private car?"

"Oh, we will pay for it out of our private funds."

I am not going to Boston. If the soldiers of Massachusetts want to give a dinner and want me to come, I will come. But there is no thousand dollars in it."

So he said, "Well, then, we will think of something else."

Then when he met me in New York he had another idea. . . .

Now, I cannot recall which one of these fellows told me about the rule of succession, about the Secretary of State becoming President when the Vice-President is eliminated. There was something said in one of the conversations that I had, that the President's health was bad, and he might resign, and that Garner did not want it anyhow, and then this super-secretary would take the place of the Secretary of State and in the order of succession would become President. That was the idea. He said that they had this money to spend on it, and he wanted to know again if I would head it, and I said, "No, I was interested in it, but I would not head it."

He (Clark) laughed and said, "That speech cost a lot of money." Clark told me that it had cost him a lot of money. *Now either from what he said then or from what MacGuire had said, I got the impression that the speech had been written by John W. Davis—one or the other of them told me that—* but he thought that it was a big joke that these fellows were claiming the authorship of that speech.

I think there was one other visit to the house because he (MacGuire) proposed that I go to Boston to a soldiers' dinner to be given *by Governor Ely* for the soldiers, *and that I was to go with Al Smith.* He said, "We will have a private car for you on the end of the train *and have your picture taken with Governor Smith.* You will make a speech at this dinner and it will be worth a thousand dollars to you."

I said, "I never got a thousand dollars for making a speech."

He said, "You will get it this time."

"Who is going to pay for this dinner and this ride up in the private car?"

"Oh, we will pay for it out of our funds. *You will have your picture taken with Governor Smith."*

I said, "I do not want to have my picture taken with Governor Smith. I do not like him."

"Well, then, he can meet you up there."

I said, "No, there is something wrong in this. There is no connection that I have with Al Smith, that we should be riding along together to a soldiers' dinner. He is not for the soldiers' either. I am not going to Boston *to any dinner given by Governor Ely for the soldiers.* If the soldiers of Massachusetts want to give a dinner and want me to come, I will come. But there is no thousand dollars in it."

So he said, "Well, then, we will think of something else."

I said, "What is the idea of Al Smith in this?"

"Well," he said, "Al Smith is getting ready to assault the Administration in his magazine. It will appear in a month or so. He is going to take a shot at the money question. He has definitely broken with the President."

I was interested to note that about a month later he did, and the New Outlook took the shot that he told me a month before they were going to take. Let me say that this fellow has been able to tell me a month or six weeks ahead of time everything that happened. That made him interesting. I wanted to see if he was going to come out right.

So I said at this time, "So I am going to be dragged in as a sort of publicity agent for Al Smith to get him to sell magazines by having our picture taken on the rear platform of a private car, is that the idea?"

"Well, you are to sit next to each other at dinner and you are both going to make speeches. You will speak for the soldiers without assaulting the Administration, because this Administration has cut their throats. Al Smith will make a speech, and they will both be very much alike."

I said, "I am not going. You just cross that out."

Then when he met me in New York he had another idea. . . .

Now, I cannot recall which one of these fellows told me about the rule of succession, about the Secretary of State becoming President when the Vice-President is eliminated. There was something said in one of the conversations that I had *either with MacGuire or with Flagg, whom I met in Indianapolis,* that the President's health was bad, and he might resign, and that Garner did not want it anyhow, and then this super-secretary would take the place of the Secretary of State and in the order of succession would become President. *He made some remark about the President being very thin-skinned and did not like criticism, and it would be very much easier to pin it on some-*

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He said, "When I was in Paris, my headquarters were Morgan & Hodges (Harjes). We had a meeting over there. I might as well tell you that our group is for you, for the head of this organization. Morgan & Hodges (Harjes) are against you. The Morgan interests say that you cannot be trusted, that you are too radical, and so forth, that you are too much on the side of the little fellow; you cannot be trusted. They do not want you. But our group tells them that you are the only fellow in America who can get the soldiers together. They say, 'Yes, but he will get them together and to the wrong way.' That is what they say if you take charge of them."

So he left me saying, "I am going down to Miami. . . . "

body else. He could say that he was above such routine matters and let the other fellow take care of it and then get rid of him if necessary. That was the idea. He said that they had this money to spend on it, and he wanted to know again if I would head it, and I said, "No, I was interested in it, but I would not head it."

He said, "When I was in Paris, my headquarters were Morgan & Hodges (Harjes). We had a meeting over there. I might as well tell you that our group is for you, for the head of this organization. Morgan & Hodges (Harjes) are against you. The Morgan interests say that you cannot be trusted, that you are too radical, and so forth, that you are too much on the side of the little fellow; you cannot be trusted. *They are for Douglas MacArthur as the head of it. Douglas MacArthur's term expires in November, and if he is not reappointed it is to be presumed that he will be disappointed and sore and they are for getting him to head it."*

I said, "I do not think that you will get the soldiers to follow him, Jerry. He is in bad odor, because he put on a uniform with medals to march down the street in Washington. I know the soldiers."

"Well, then, we will get Hanford MacNider. They want either MacArthur or MacNider. They do not want you. But our group tells them that you are the only fellow in America who can get the soldiers together. They say, 'Yes, but he will get them together and go the wrong way'. That is what they say if you take charge of them."

I said, "MacNider won't do either. He will not get the soldiers to follow him, because he has been opposed to the bonus."

"Yes, but we will have him in change (charge?)"

And it is interesting to note that three weeks later after this conversation MacNider changed and turned around for the bonus. It is interesting to note that.

He said, "There is going to be a big quarrel over the reappointment of MacArthur" and he said, "you watch the President reappoint him. He is going to go right and if he does not reappoint him, he is going to go left."

I have been watching with a great deal of interest this quarrel over his reappointment to see how it comes out. He said, "You know as well as I do that MacArthur is Stotesbury's son-in-law in Philadelphia—Morgan's representative in Philadelphia. You just see how it goes and if I am not telling you the truth."

I noticed that MacNider turned around for the bonus, and that there is a row over the reappointment of MacArthur. So he left me saying, "I am going down to Miami. . . ."

There are other portions of the suppressed testimony such as Butler's story of the conversation he had in Indianapolis with a man named Flagg who knew all about the fascist plot to organize an army directed by Wall Street financiers. I have been unable to locate a man by that name who is an Indianapolis publisher, as he was introduced to Butler, and I am inclined to think that he was masquerading under a different name and had been sent there to feel out Butler. Because of my inability to locate any such person I am not quoting the testimony.

The most significant part of all this suppressed evidence is that the Dickstein Committee dropped it like a hot coal though there was plenty of evidence of a fascist-militarist plot. Nevertheless, when the Congressional Committee had MacGuire on the stand repeatedly, it questioned him about his finances but not one single question was directed at him regarding the American Liberty League, controlled by the du Pont interests (which are tied up with Morgan interests and Morgan interests are tied up with Warburg interests and Warburg interests control the American Jewish Committee which in turn guided this Congressional body) nor of the discussion sworn to under oath about the Remington Arms Co. supplying arms and equipment for the fascist army.

Not a single question was directed at MacGuire regarding the conversation testified to by Paul Comley French. Not a single du Pont or Remington Arms official was called. No—not a single official of the Liberty League on whose body are members of the American Jewish Committee, such as former Judge Joseph M. Proskauer.

If the Congress of the United States really wants to investigate fascist activities why does it not ask this Committee why this testimony was suppressed?

Next week John L. Spivak will present details of how the Warburg-Morgan interests are tied up; and how the Warburg interests control the American Jewish Committee, leaders of which guided this Congressional Committee in suppressing the evidence of the fascist conspiracy by Wall Street financiers.—THE EDITORS.

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Aspects of Soviet Art

LOUIS LOZOWICK

A FULL inventory of Soviet art today would have to include such "old masters" as Nesterov, Kardovsky, Maliutin; artists now in the seventies; a middle stratum of artists who are slowly, painfully transforming themselves from retrospectivism, exoticism, drab naturalism into artists of the contemporary Soviet, proletarian theme (Yuon, Petrov-Vodkin, Sterenberg, Kuznetzov); the younger artists who have received their training under Soviet conditions and in Soviet institutions (Deyneka, Skalya, Pimenov); academicians, Cézannists, abstractionists, all sorts of formalists who continue as if no revolution has ever taken place; the unprecedented growth of non-professional art practice in collectives, factories, clubs; the rich efflorescence of art among minor nationalities who have never had any pictorial art (with qualifications to be noted); the gradual uneven, sometimes halting, but always advancing march towards the creation of a proletarian art.

The Philadelphia exhibition of Soviet art shows no such complete or systematic assembling; nor was that its intention. Its sponsors brought together a characteristic group of examples from the contemporary practice of the chiefly younger Soviet artisans, chosen and arranged with fine taste and serving, therefore, to stimulate our curiosity towards a more complete acquaintance with Soviet art. The present note intends to be less a distribution of marks to the artists exhibited than a presentation in retrospect of the leading currents in Soviet art and the guiding problems that have engaged Soviet artists. This will serve to make the status of the exhibition itself more comprehensible and present at the same time the essential aspects of a branch of Soviet culture less generally known in this country than the cinema, literature or even music.

It should be obvious to all but the culturally analphabetic that so profound a revolutionary transformation as the October revolution would sooner or later affect the artist and his work. Faced with a new historic situation, with newly emerging political and economic institutions and new ethical values, the most alert among the artists felt the need of a new esthetic, the need of expressing in the language of their art their experience of this new situation. Lacking sufficient precedent, the task was by no means easy. The seventeen years have been a constant unremitting search for a clarification of that task.

It was Lenin himself who from the very first formulated the problem with his usual directness and clarity:

> In the Soviet Republic the question of education in general . . . and of art in particular must be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the class struggle of the proletariat towards a successful realization of the aim of its dictatorship . . . *(Resolution on Proletarian Culture).*

At first many of the intellectuals in the world of art opposed the revolution with all the arguments carried over from bourgeois democracy—*not over-subtle innuendo:* The October revolution, said the dandified esthetes of the aristocratic bourgeoisie, threatens the very existence of Russian art and antiquity, "Everything is possible in the land where the revolution is stained with foulest murder . . ." *(Apollo),* therefore, ladies and gentlemen . . .; *moral suasion:* The State and the trade unions are making an assault on pure artistic creation, echoed the embattled anarchists, and concluded, "Cast off the false glitter of every rule! Arise!" *(Anarchy); physical force:* A White guard blew up a newly erected statue of Robespierre; and finally, just plain old-fashioned *passive resistance* practised by the rest.

It was one of the positive contributions of the left bloc (modernists, abstractionists) that they realized the revolutionary function of art and that they offered their cooperation to the state, which was, of course, accepted at once. But how did they realize that alliance? What did it mean in their work as artists? Instead of changing the thing they gave it a new name: they continued their pre-war practice, but gave it a new interpretation. There was a welter of schools, cubism, supremitism, futurism, constructism, etc. (described in full detail in my pamphlet, *Modern Russian Art),* and no end of manifestoes, despite the paper shortage.

Whatever arguments they used to prove that modernism is the only art of the proletariat and the revolution (and many of them were quite ingenious) what they actually did was summarized by one of their intellectual mentors as "Pictorial Materialism . . . a conception of the picture as a self-contained entity . . . a constructive system of color-form." Or as one of their band put it with unconscious humor, "A picture is a new combination of abstract elements devoid of sense" —in a word, a familiar international post-impressionist phenomenon. Thus while they vigorously asserted their revolutionary convictions, their work was a flight from revolutionary reality.

In the end, while certain artists headed by Malevich reached the "zero point of art" that is, a flat colored canvas, others sought a way out by declaring "irreconcilable war on art" in the name of utility which the artists forthwith proceeded to embody in such fantastic projects as Lavinsky's "Modern City," Lissitzky's public rostrum, Rodchenko's "Sovdep," and the best known of all Tatlin's "Tower of the Comintern." Tatlin's project for a gigantic structure comprised a cylinder on top of a pyramid on top of a cube, all placed within the framework of a spiral slanting at an angle of 45 degrees and all rotating around their axes at the respective velocities of a day, a month and a year. In the name of utility!

A small group of the left bloc (Mayakovsky, Lebedev) despite their acceptance of the abstractionist theory, turned out many hundreds of pictures in color ("Windows of Satire"), excellent means of agitation on all fronts against the native White Guards and the foreign interventionists, for discipline in the army and industrial rehabilitation; simple, crude but often strikingly effective pictures, the first to treat of the Soviet theme realistically.

In the midst of the general intellectual confusion the left bloc wielded real power in art schools, in exhibitions and in other institutions of the art world. They had been intellectual outlaws, unrecognized before the revolution; they were now enjoying full right of citizenship, as it were, and there was the temptation towards some abuse of their power. But no sooner did this happen than a joint resolution by the Commissariat of Education and the trade unions put them in their place.

"There are many currents in art," said the resolution, "the proletariat is still seeking to develop its own art; therefore, neither the state nor the trade unions can consider any of them of sole validity, but must give every help to all new efforts" ("Thesis of Art Section," 1921).

This has been the consistent policy of the Soviet Union throughout the seventeen years. As the tiny island of Soviet territory around Moscow and Leningrad began to extend its borders at the expense of Denikin, Yudenich, Kolchak, the Czechs, the French and the English; as the Red Army grew in strength, as economic institutions were being built up on the ruins of the civil war and all life was becoming more normal, the complete helplessness of the futurists became patent; their popularity waned and they were approaching their end. The masses returning to normal occupations, the youth in quest of enlightenment, Red Army men coming from the front, intellectuals taking stock of the situation—all who sought a clear picture of the seething events, who wanted encouragement and guidance, found little in futurist works to gratify them.

"Art must have its deepest roots in the broad masses of the workers," said Lenin. "It must be understood and loved by them. It must awaken and develop the artist in them. It must unite their feelings, thoughts and wills." *(Reminiscences of Clara Zetkin.)*

This, modernism failed to do. It lost its roots in popular soil and dried up. It was

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Collective Farm Woman and Son

Sergeyvich Petrov-Vodkin (Pennsylvania Museum of Art)

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not legislated out of existence; in fact, some remnants of it have persisted to this very day. Tatlin, the architect of the fantastic Comintern Tower, only recently invented a no less fantastic aeroplane which was exhibited and reproduced at government expense. It is not useless at this juncture to recall the experience of the German modernists under Hitler. There are dictatorships and dictatorships.

Around 1922-1924 several groups sprang up to supplant the modernists. Despite certain differences in respect to technique and ideology they were all at one in condemning abstraction and affirming a realist approach in dealing with revolutionary realities: New Society of Painters (*Noj*), Existence, Society of Easel Painters (*Ost*), Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia (*Akhrr*). Because of its origin and its program *Akhrr* became the most popular among them within a short time. *Akhrr* was formed at a discussion meeting which took place at the Forty-seventh Exhibition of the Wanderers (1922). The Wanderers were the last survivors of a tradition highly cherished by the revolution. Organized in the second half of the 19th century by intellectual-commoners who were arrayed against political absolutism and who sought an ally in "the people," the Wanderers fought the academy as the representative of absolutism, and established contact with the people by traveling exhibitions. They condemned the pseudo-classicism of the academy and depicted in sympathetic colors the oppressed intelligentsia and the peasantry, while they satirized the obsequious officialdom and the unctuous clergy. The proletariat, not having as yet an organized existence at the time, found no reflection in their work. Associated with the Wanderers in their fight were the brilliant intellectuals Dobrolyubov, Chernishevsky, Belinsky and others. In organizing *Akhrr,* the artists established a link with that older band of rebels and expressed their intention to carry forward the revolutionary tradition they had started by expanding it to meet the needs of the present.

Before proceeding with the work of *Akhrr* an incident should be recorded in connection with the Forty-seventh Exhibition of the Wanderers. Kassatkin, a member of that society, one of the first painters to have treated of proletarian themes, was elected the first "Peoples' Artist," a position of honor which also carries a pension with it. Subsequently this became an established Soviet institution extended to include other artists.

The name, Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia, indicated at once its point of departure which was further elucidated by a declaration of principles.

> . . . Our civil duty to mankind is to fix in artistic and documentary fashion the greatest moments of history in all their revolutionary upsurge.
>
> We shall depict our own day: The life of the Red Army, the life of the workers, the peasants, the revolutionists, the heroes of labor.
>
> We consider content the sign of genuineness in a work of art.

These principles were illustrated in exhibitions organized by *Akhrr* under such themes as "Life and Customs of the Red Army," "Life and Customs of the National Minorities," "Revolution: Life and Labor." In the manner of the Wanderers, *Akhrr* circulated their exhibitions throughout the Union. Like the Wanderers who brought into the field of painting many themes from the popular contemporary prints (*Lubki*), the *Akhrr* carried forward the themes treated earlier in the revolution in the "Windows of Satire."

The clear-cut unequivocal stress on the revolutionary theme was of paramount importance in developing a proletarian art; it was the source of strength as well as of weakness of *Akhrr,* for while profound ideas are necessary for the development of a great art they alone are not sufficient. And at first *Akhrr* neglected entirely the question of technical competence. Besides, the fashion of dragging in the revolutionary theme at all costs was at times abused and led to such lengths as that of labeling "Products from Kolkhoz X" what was just a plain humble still life.

The most vituperative attacks on *Akhrr* came from the left bloc. Arvatov said that it reflected the partial return of capitalist market relations. Tchujak found even baser motives for it: Its "heroic realism" was "heroic servilism." But such arguments rebounded against those who made them. Was building Socialism a return to capitalist market relations, and service to the revolution servilism?

More positive gain to the entire realist movement came from discussion and practice of various groupings which attached greater importance to formal excellence. Existence (Bytiye) wanted "to prepare painting of a high quality for the service of the revolution" (Sokolov-Skalya, Barto). Circle demanded first, "New formal achievements" and second, "Themes consonant with the epoch." The Four Arts insisted on a realism enriched by the experiments of Western Art (Petrov-Vodkin, Kuznetzov, Istomin, Kravchenko, Favorsky). Most far reaching was the influence of *Ost* because it consisted chiefly of younger artists of Soviet training who were later to reach positions of great prominence. (Deyneka, Pimenov, Vyalov, Williams, Zervnova). *Ost* asserted that "only art of the highest quality" can participate in the building of Socialism and therefore, preached and worked hard on a rigorous technical training.

During the period roughly between 1922 and 1932 new groups were constantly springing up, old ones were disappearing, there was an endless shift in membership. *Akhrr* maintained its position of predominance and its declarations began to acknowledge the importance of style while its practice was beginning to show the results of the contact with other groups. Towards the later part of the period came several groups which waged a battle as much political as esthetic (*Omakhrr*-Young *Akhrr,* October, *Rapkh*-Russian Association of Proletarian Artists). *Rapkh,* the most active among them, borrowing its arms from the arsenal of its literary brother *Rapp,* treated fellow travellers rather gingerly, raised the slogan of Ally versus Enemy and called for a class cleavage in all artists' organizations. But just as it was getting into swing, the Communist Party stepped in as it had done several times before (1919, 1921, 1924) with its famous decision of April, 1932. Briefly, that resolution referred to the growth of artistic activity in factory and collective farm, pointed out the growing acceptance of Soviet power among intellectuals and concluded that there was danger to further artistic progress from the cultivation of small, narrow cliques.

Accordingly, like the writers, the artists dissolved their numerous organizations to unite into one Federation of Soviet Artists. The results for Soviet art have been several.

1. Numerous artists have undergone a radical transformation. The work of artists like Kuznetzov and Petrov-Vodkin which was esoteric, mystic, introspective before and long after the revolution, has begun to take on a vigor and vitality through its contact with living reality.

2. There has been an increasing interest in the "artistic heritage" based on the teachings of Lenin as expressed in the following passage:

> **Marxism won world historic significance as ideal for the revolutionary proletariat because it did not throw away the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch but on the contrary assimilated and utilized all that was valuable in the more than two thousand years' development of human thought and culture. Only further extension of work on this basis and in this direction inspired by the practical experience of the proletarian dictatorship in its war on exploitation can lead to a truly proletarian culture (*Resolution on Proletarian Culture, 1920*).**

The application to art is obvious.

3. There has been a phenomenal growth of creative activity among workers of farm and factory, scattered throughout the breadth of the Soviet Union, always in close contact with professional artists, constantly exchanging visits and experiences. A collection of their characteristic work (of which many exhibitions have been held in the Soviet Union) would show a surprising amount of strength and originality latent in the masses.

4. Efforts towards the development of a style consonant with the present revolutionary moment, "Socialist realism," have not been the work of a clique but of the wide mass of Soviet artists, each contributing from the fund of his knowledge and experience. Briefly, and tentatively for the present, socialist realism seeks to give a many-sided, synthetic view of social reality in process of creation: a rich characterization of the men creating it and the men being created by it. Since this dynamic process comprehends triumphs and failures, socialist realism takes account of both from the standpoint of their ultimate social significance. The social realist is not a passive observer of the phenomena he depicts; he is an activist who depicts changing reality in a manner which makes his own work a factor toward further change.

Such is the regnant esthetic in the leading critical and artistic circles. It has not been

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promulgated by administrative decree, but came as a logical development from wide discussion in response to an immediate social need; and it is by no means universally accepted.

Here is a typical case (one of many) which illustrates the pliant Soviet policy with regard to artists. Konchalovsky is one of the ablest and most prolific painters of still lifes, landscapes and figures. During the seventeen years of tempestuous ideologic battles and world shaking events he has continued on his still lifes, landscapes and figures. Yet Konchalovsky enjoys the honor and the emoluments that go with the title of Peoples' Artist. "Regimentation!"

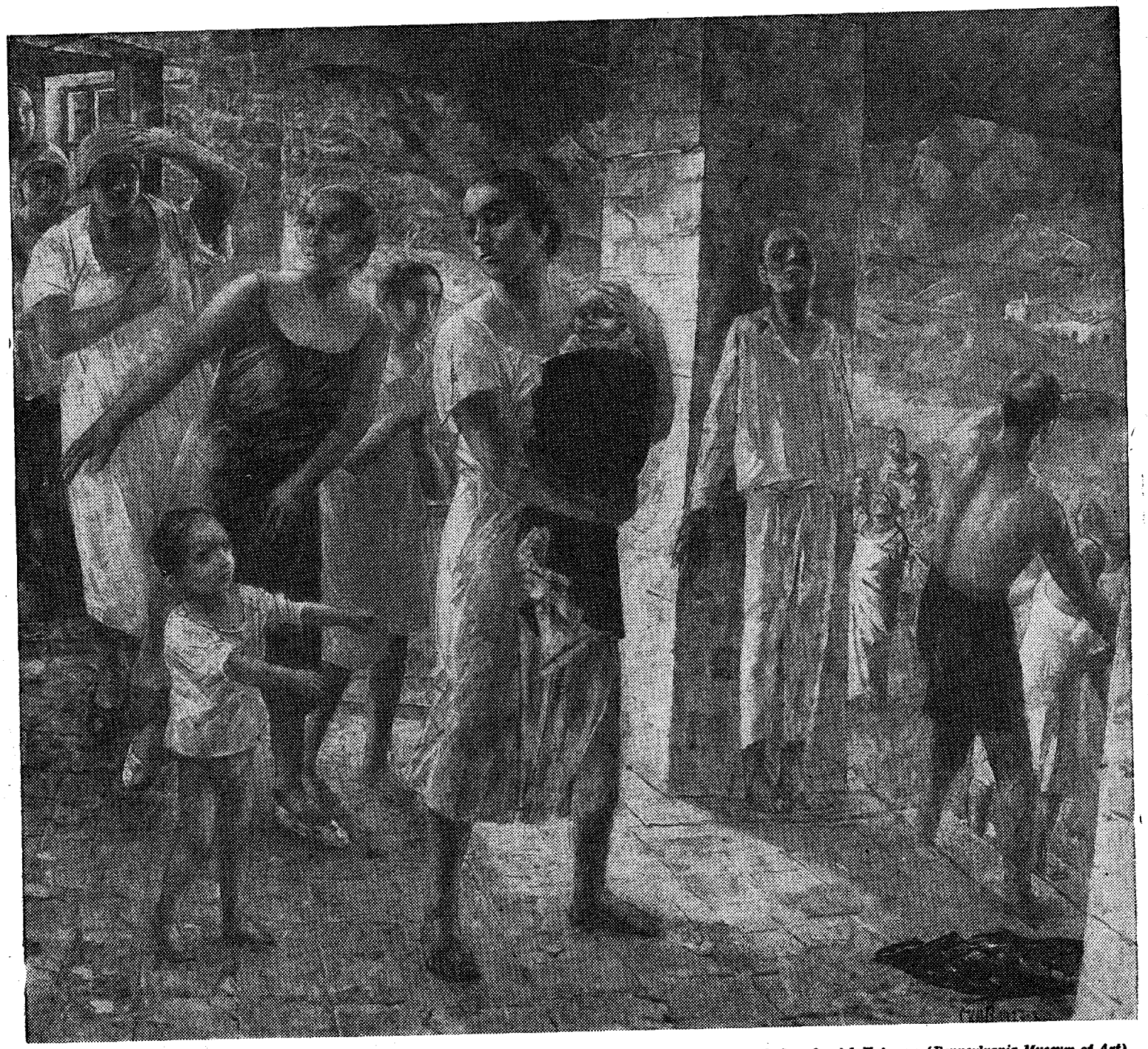
5. Art among the minor nationalities has developed to proportions never before known, even where no pictorial art existed before. For instance, the only pictorial art known to Mahomedan nations under the Czar (and then to a very limited extent) was the illuminated manuscript, very expensive and requiring years to complete, hence accessible only to aristocracy and high clergy. At the present such countries as Uzbekistan and Azerbaijan have a rich graphic art, easel and mural painting, created under the dialectic formula "national in form [the element which differentiates the national cultures], proletarian in content [the element which unites them]." The artists of every national minority receive the same help and encouragement, are in every respect on an equal plane with the artists of every other nationality including of course the RSFSR. One is again tempted to compare the Soviet policy with the obscurantist Aryanism of the Nazi. Nationalisms, like dictatorships, differ. Incidentally, the Soviet formula for national culture is an unfailing test to distinguish the reactionary from the progressive among the growing cultural nationalisms everywhere, including the United States.

The October revolution not only furnished the artist with new themes—it gave him a new social status; it provided him with economic security and offered him greater opportunities for the exercise of his talent; it eliminated the private speculator and brought the artist's work before a new million-strong audience concerned with the same interest as the artist himself.

His activity like the activity of other workers, physical and mental, is devoted to the creation of a new, a better world.

He is intent on communicating in adequate form his tremendously varied experience.

If art has ever had a nobler motive, history does not record it.



Earthquake in the Crimea

Eugene Aleksandrovich Katzman (Pennsylvania Museum of Art)

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Agnes Smedley in Danger

(The following letter from Agnes Smedley, author of Chinese Destinies *and* China's Red Army Marches *was received by James Henle, president of Vanguard Press.*—THE EDITORS.*)*

Shanghai, China.
December 19, 1934.

Dear Friend:

I do not like to burden you with my affairs; still it seems essential that I write you of an event here that seems to me to be a prelude to possible murderous attempts upon my life.

A few days ago I was warned by Chinese friends with close Kuomintang connections that there is much discussion going on in Kuomintang circles about getting rid of me. The question of shooting me was discussed by a small group of men, among them a Chinese official newspaper and magazine editor. I would pay no attention to such discussions were it not that so many Chinese have been murdered at official instigation and orders.

Close upon the heels of this warning there began a press campaign against me here in Shanghai; and undoubtedly it has extended to other cities, though I have not had time to receive the papers from other than Shanghai. The first press story against me appeared in the official Japanese daily of Shanghai, the Shanghai Nichi Nichi. The official Chinese press and news agencies copied this report, or perhaps were given it in person by the Nichi Nichi; and, since the Japanese and Chinese officials work hand in hand, they spread the campaign. The paper that took it up first was the Central China Daily News of Shanghai, the official mouthpiece of Wang Ching-wei, political head of the Nanking Government; hand in hand with it the Morning Post, Chiang Kai-shek's personal propaganda organ—the organ of the "Blue Shirts," or fascists of Shanghai—printed the story. The first story read:

> Shanghai, Dec. 12.—According to the Japanese press, a woman named Miss Agnes Smedley who was very active in Shanghai during the Shanghai War (*i. e.,* the Japanese invasion of Shanghai A. S.), has recently returned to Shanghai in connection with an international espionage organization. This woman, who was champion of the Anti-Imperialist League, financed by Soviet Russia, was formerly very active in this city.
>
> It is reported that this woman is organizing a secret Anti-Imperialist League among Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Filipinos, Annamites and the Malay peoples.
>
> This American woman was born in Kentucky State of a poor family. When she was twenty-three years of age she became greatly interested in Communism. At first she married an American, but divorced him. Later she married an Indian and went to Germany during the Great War as a spy for India for the purpose of exposing secrets of Great Britain. After the War she went to the U.S.S.R. and studied anti-imperialist Communism. Taken into confidence by the Soviet Government, she engaged in Red propaganda work in Europe. From 1929 to 1932 she stayed in Shanghai. She came recently to Shanghai from East Malay. It is reported that she is in close contact with a certain leading Chinese woman (Mrs. Sun Yat-sen) whose object in life is to fight a "certain country." (*i. e.,* Japan. A. S.)

The second article appeared on Dec. 14 and follows:

> Shanghai, Dec. 14. The world-famous spy, Miss Agnes Smedley, who was very active in Shanghai following the Shanghai War in 1932 when she was in the employ of the U.S.S.R., returned recently from the South Sea Islands.
>
> Her movements are mysterious in Shanghai. As a result of a thorough investigation by reporters of the foreign press (this means the Japanese secret service—A. S.) in Shanghai, Miss Smedley was found at the Shanghai Sanitarium. Miss Smedley refused to receive visitors. Yesterday Miss Smedley left the hospital.
>
> During the Great War Miss Smedley was well-known as a spy. With American nationality by birth; she has also German, French and Soviet nationalities. She graduated from Michigan University in America, speaks German, English, French, Chinese, Japanese, Russian—altogether she speaks ten different languages. With great talent and beauty, she acted as a German spy during the World War when she was actively engaged in espionage work in Paris and London. After the War, she went to Soviet Russia and studied the Soviet Revolution and became an international revolutionist. She knew Lenin and Trotsky. Later she worshipped Gandhi and left the U.S.S.R. for India. In India she married an Indian revolutionist engaged in the Indian revolutionary movement. Later she divorced him and visited Far Eastern countries. As a spy for the U.S.S.R. her movements are closely watched by all western countries.

I have today filed a protest with the American Consul General in Shanghai against these viciously fabricated statements. But, speaking frankly, I expect absolutely no results from this protest.

I suppose it is unnecessary for me to point out the openly manufactured lies in the two reports quoted above. Take them one by one: I was not connected with any "international espionage organization" before, during, or following the Shanghai invasion by the Japanese. Nor have I returned to China in connection with any such organization. Furthermore, I have nothing to do with the Anti-Imperialist League, nor did I have in the past. Not that I disagree with such work, however. It merely happens that the statement is a lie. Nor am I organizing a secret Anti-Imperialist League today. I was also not born in Kentucky, I was never in the University of Michigan—if there is such a one—in my life and I have graduated from no university. I was in New York City during the World War, and not in Paris or London as the statements declare. In fact I have never been in England; I was in Paris for the first time in 1928 and for the second time this past winter. Nor did I go to India after the World War and there marry an Indian revolutionary. I also did not conduct Red propaganda in Europe after the World War; instead, I organized birth control clinics in Germany for Margaret Sanger and was a teacher in English in the English Seminar of the University of Berlin. I never met Lenin or Trotsky. I am very sorry that I never met Lenin, for that would have been one of the greatest moments of my life. It is news to me that the Soviet Government ever took me into its confidence. I was in China from 1929 to 1933. I have never been in East Malay or the South Sea Islands in my life, and instead of just returning from there I came, instead, from the United States on the President Coolidge, leaving Los Angeles on October 1st, landing in Shanghai October 22nd. It is also utterly untrue that I am "beautiful" or that I speak ten different languages.

Of all these reports, but two statements are correct: one is that I recently returned to Shanghai and was in the Shanghai Sanitarium until a few days ago; the second is that I am a friend of Mrs. Sun Yat-sen—I have that honor.

The utterly vicious and unscrupulous lies circulated by the Japanese and taken up by the official Chinese press are most dangerous to my life. I regard them as but an ideological preparation for an attack upon my life. If I could sue for libel in any decent court, I could prove the lies. But if I sue the Japanese paper, the trial would come up in Japan; and I would not have a ghost of a chance in a Japanese court. In China, the courts are little tools of the leading politicians or militarists, and a libel case there is utterly useless. My only hope is to expose the lies publicly. If you can help me in doing this I would be glad.

Of course, the reason for the press campaign against me and for the discussions about the possibility of shooting me is the publication of my two latest books in America—*Chinese Destinies* and *China's Red Army Marches*. Both books expose the situation in China. In a way it is a compliment that my books are taken so seriously that the Kuomintang fascists consider I am a danger to them. They are particularly furious because my books appeared abroad, chiefly in America, where they try to pose as a modern nationalist government instead of what they are—the dirty running dogs of the foreign imperialist powers, and the butchers of the Chinese people.

Sincerely,

AGNES SMEDLEY.

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Correspondence

An Appeal for Scottsboro

To The New Masses:

The Scottsboro defense scored a victory when the Supreme Court granted the appeal for a review of the Norris and Patterson cases. Now the International Labor Defense is in need of immediate funds to carry on the trials before the high court.

A delegation to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to ask financial cooperation was rebuffed by Walter White, the Association's secretary, and contributions were flatly refused. Dr. George E. Haynes, of the American Scottsboro Committee, stalking horse for Leibowitz's disruptive attacks, also refused financial aid.

"Justice" at the new court palace in Washington comes high. The attorneys engaged by the I.L.D. are the best available, but not all of its expense is legal expense. It must carry on intensive mass agitation continually, the policy which has so far saved the Scottsboro boys from legal lynching. $10,000 must be raised at once. The I.L.D., 80 E. 11th St., N. Y. C., appeals directly to all sympathizers, who are urged to remit quickly, in small or large amounts.

International Labor Defense.

"Man on a Road"

To The New Masses:

At last! "Man on a Road." Art that *breathes* propaganda. Let no one say the union cannot be perfect. We point to proof.

West Asheville, N. C. Fielding Burke.

From a U. S. Worker (Order of Lenin)

To The New Masses:

I can hardly realize that any person or group of persons could be so ignorant as to expect to shake Soviet institutions by murdering one or a number of our leaders. Seven years ago such a dastardly crime might have shaken them a bit. Today, though we mourn the loss of a true and a great comrade, the enemy has succeeded only in closing our ranks and consolidating our forces.

With this crime, the perpetrators have given one more and most conclusive proof that the Party and the workers were right in distrusting and rejecting their leadership.

One of the main factors in our Stalin's greatness is his insistence for training personnel for every position from the lowest to the highest in our economic system. If one or a hundred fall, others are trained ready to take their places.

I knew little of Comrade Kirov. It was enough for me that he was a trusted co-worker with our Great Leader. Until Stalin took the helm, things moved slowly, and we foreign workers were a bit discouraged. Since then, there has been a life and a go to our Socialist construction such as none of us dreamed possible.

There have been sacrifices of comforts and non-essentials to pay. I have made such sacrifices before for private ends. It has been much easier to make them here in a great common cause. Some of my best comrades of the first years here have made the great sacrifice. They lie now beneath the sod of Siberia and of the Caucasian Steppe.

Nothing worth while has ever been done without such sacrifices. The greater the undertaking, the greater the sacrifice. We have been, and are still working in the greatest undertaking the world has ever seen and due to our leader's audacity, courage and wisdom, our sacrifices have been light indeed.

For the sacrifices made these past seventeen years, we have a just and a dependable economic system firmly established and a population without a doubt or a fear; entering a future, richer and better than any the world has ever known.

For four years (1914-18) *of greater sacrifice; what has the rest of the world to show?*

Here, as everywhere, the weak and the faint-hearted have whined and complained—and will soon be forgotten. But when they organize and try to hinder our work, we will utterly crush them. We do not pretend to punish. But it is our highest duty to protect our work, our country and our leaders. In this spirit, our courts are rightly condemning these terrorists.

Forty-four years of my life were wasted in America. If it were my privilege to go back tomorrow, and I had to stay, I would refuse. We have gone through our hard years and better days are already with us. Conditions are improving at a wonderful pace—*and for all of us.* Every promise of our leaders is being fulfilled. *Where else is this true?*

To have been associated for more than eleven years with the comrades here in this great enterprise; to have been the second worker from abroad to receive the highest honor from them; and to have worked under the leadership of the greatest man the world has yet produced—a builder, not a destroyer—makes these years worth while and a source of the greatest satisfaction to me.

To our comrades and friends abroad, I wish to send this assurance: this act of terror, nor a hundred more like it, cannot shake our Soviet institutions. They were never half so strong as today. They are growing by leaps and bounds. Lenin gave us our plan. While our valiant Red Army stood guard at the frontiers, Stalin with infinite care has laid an unshakable foundation — and already the superstructure is well up.

The rotten structure of Capitalism will not long be able to stand the contrast that is daily growing greater between the socialist and the capitalist systems. The better days for the rest of the world are nearer than most of us realize. Their coming depends on the speed and the care with which we build here—and on the efforts you make there, especially in organizing and training your fellow-workers, and in keeping them truthfully informed as to our progress here.

The enemy may strike like a venomous serpent and rob us of our best, but he cannot stop our progress. We in the vanguard are already on the borders of the promised land that people have hoped and longed for through all the ages. Tomorrow we shall take full possession. Our having crossed over will make the road easier for you.

George G. McDowell,
Dec. 26, 1934. Order of Lenin.
Petrozavodsk A.K.S.S.R.,
Matkachee Rest Home.

The Writers' Congress

To The New Masses:

We live all over the United States—some of us in out of the way country towns, where we have turned jacks-of-all-trades in order to keep alive; some of us in large cities, working on relief jobs or as publishers' hacks. We range in age between twenty and forty. Most of us have published two or three books and a few score of uncollected short stories, articles, and poems. We have all for a longer or shorter time made a living by the typewriter.

But the market for our wares has contracted, like the market for other products. Not because the demand is any less—on the contrary—but because there is less profit to be made therefrom. In common with thousands of other especially trained technicians, we find our particular kind of engineering no longer commands a living wage.

Writers are accustomed to asking why—and when we asked ourselves the why of this, we very quickly found the answer involved the entire question of the continued survival of capitalism. The search for an answer to our whys led us into a world new to most of us—a world of union meetings, picket lines, of workers' fighting organizations. Our days became filled with organizational work. And we read omnivorously, avidly keeping up with the greatest spate of political pamphlets America, since the late 18th and early 19th century, has ever seen.

Some of us joined the Communist Party. Many of us didn't, but were active in workers' organizations, or in organizing workers' bookshops, reading circles, "little" working-class magazines, etc.

I am proud to say we remained articulate. The tightening of the crisis, the tossing overboard of cultural ballast by the capitalist lords in their frantic struggles to save their system of government, silenced only a few of us. But we had changed, and we had to find a new audience. Today we write—for the first time in our lives—for an audience of workers and of people like ourselves. And for the first time in our lives, although many of us are starving, we write without thought of an editor's check to follow, proud to be Americans, of a generation of Americans in whom the revolutionary tradition has not died.

We have grown accustomed to organization in other fields than our own. Many of us have lost desperately-needed jobs as a result of union activities; a few have braved terror and open violence. We know and value the solidarity given by numbers and a conscious aim. But we have no organization of our own.

For this reason the call for an American writers' congress appeals to hundreds of us all over America as being addressed specifically to him or her. It is time, we know, to put aside our provincial, individualistic isolation and to take our stand as a group. With the rapidly approaching danger of war and of fascism in the United States, May 1, 1935 will come none too soon.

Roxbury, Mass. Merle Colby.

"A Prospect for Edna Millay"

To The New Masses:

I have just finished reading Stanley Burnshaw's critical article on Edna Millay and in my enthusiasm and gratitude for the rare privilege of being illuminated so unexpectedly I am writing to you now. I cannot tell you sufficiently how much impressed I have been with this little essay! For intellectual clarity, psychological and poetic insight and the elegant simplicity of style there are few critics of our time who could have equalled his performance. Edna Millay and all the ten thousand little Millay-ettes in the country are in need of just this particular kind of dressing-down. I, for one, think that Burnshaw could do no greater service to the cause of Communism, poetry and poets than to prepare a volume based on the general thesis of the Millay essay, and to run it serially either in whole or in part in The New Masses. Nathan Ausubel.

A Six-Percent War

To The New Masses:

As you well know, the White House tenant, under cover of "taking profits out of war," has given his sanction to the American Legion's old Universal Draft plan. This would draft workers and farmers for the army and for forced labor purposes but it would not in any sense draft capital. It must give The New Masses some satisfaction to know that it made a thorough expose of the Roosevelt plan as far back as August, 1933, when it featured an article by Seymour Waldman entitled "A Six-Percent War." Roosevelt admits that he bases his plan on the report of the War Policies Commission hearings which Waldman analyzes and shows to mean guaranteeing capital at least six percent in the next war. Walter Wilson.

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

What is a Proletarian Writer?

THE term "proletarian literature" seems recently to have been catapulted into the vocabulary of the American literati. That they are fuming, cheering, profoundly interpreting, solemnly prophesying, about this, to them, startling phenomenon, instead of being exercised about surrealism, dadaism, and the other products of Left Bank sterility, is a healthy and significant sign. But since I consider much even of the sympathetic interpretings and prophesyings misleading and harmful, I feel one of these "proletarian writers" should be heard from in answer, even if that one is as unpractised in critical writing as myself.

The latest interpretation of this phenomenon I have read—outside of a fairly adequate though slight article by one Karl Schriftgiesser in the Washington Post—is Louis Adamic's "What the Proletariat Reads," which appeared in the Saturday Review of Literature. Mr. Adamic, before commencing his conclusive proof of the fact that the vast majority of the American proletariat does not read proletarian literature, starts off with the statement from Trotsky that there can't be such a thing as proletarian literature anyhow; which, if he subscribes to that theory, seems to me to make everything all right, and why write articles about it? If by proletarian literature, however, is meant a picture and interpretation of the proletarian scene by an artist of, and consciously of, the proletariat, then both Mr. Adamic and Trotsky are wrong; or else Gorky is a bad writer.

According to Mr. Adamic, however, proletarian literature—such as it is—is, and of necessity must be, conscious propaganda. "The author's aim is to publicize the proletariat, its plight under capitalism," and ballyhoo for the revolution which "appears just around the corner." Here, I think, Mr. Adamic reveals the point of view which distorts his interpretation of his correct data and makes an answer imperative: the point of view, unconscious of course, and therefore more consistently prevalent, of intellectual bourgeois psychology. If by propaganda Mr. Adamic had meant the desire of the writer to recreate in his reader the interest in a scene—no matter what scene—that was aroused in him, then all proletarian writers are indeed propagandists; but so are all non-proletarian writers. Even Mencken, who shudders at the portrayal of a militant worker, once said, in a defense of Sinclair Lewis, I think, that all writers he could think of are propagandists, except Cabell; and Cabell is a propagandist against propaganda. But Mr. Adamic, because of his middle-class viewpoint (I don't know his antecedents; I know only his writings) sees propaganda as a necessary correlation only of radical writings. That is, though he undoubtedly could see wherein Mark Twain, say, can be accused of propaganda, the chances are fair he never thought about it; whereas any depicting of life among the proletariat strikes a blow at his middle-class consciousness, and he immediately sees in it propaganda.

I mention this simply to show that Mr. Adamic, for example, who, in revealing what the proletariat reads, goes into what is proletarian literature, and its present state and probable future — can discuss those subjects only as a middle-class writer, despite his left leanings; which is true of all similar critics. For the fact is, that though there are, of course, pure propagandist novelists with radical inclinations, such as Sinclair (and their works are uniformly bad from any standards of literature) there are other so-called proletarian writers whose pictures of the workers' lives were no more conceived with a propaganda intent than were the pictures of the London and Continental drawing rooms of Henry James; and among those writers I think can be included almost all whom the press, radical as well as capitalist, has recently lumped in that class. I think that Cantwell, Halper, Conroy, Dahlberg — I know that I—wrote simply to express reactions to scenes that affected us profoundly. If the presentation had any effect, so much the better; but the motivating impulse was to portray those scenes for one's own satisfaction. And nothing different can be said of any sincere artist who puts brush to canvas or typewriter to paper.

As I have said, I agree with the claim that American workers for the most part do not read proletarian literature. But neither I nor any really left writer can agree with Mr. Adamic's statement that such literature "I fear, never can reach (them)." The lack of class consciousness of the American workers, in contrast to those of Europe, is notorious, and the reasons are as well known. Until a generation ago, for all the fact the American worker as a whole was little better off than his European brother, it is true there was always a chance—like the chances in the Irish sweepstakes—for the lowest to become president, magnate, ward boss, a chance unheard of abroad. That was America; it was that wonderful improbability that drew them to this country and made them accept willingly the creed of rugged individualism and the literature of the Boy Who Made Good. But that was a generation and more ago. A new generation has grown up with little or none of that hope; and the "depression" is making it consciously aware of what it previously has only sensed: the final stratification of class lines. Is it unreasonable to expect that very soon this newly class-conscious worker will turn, as did his European counterpart, to literature of his class?

In two other points these critics show, I think, how completely, if unconsciously, they are imbued with middle-class psychology, and are therefore not in a position to direct or prophesy the future of proletarian literature. I agree completely that all bosses should not be lousy and all workers straight out of Horatio Alger; I believe the worse you make the boss personally, the more it removes the onus from the system and seems to put it on a peculiar individual; while make him a good fellow, and then if things are still wet, the reader must look elsewhere for the cause. But the common complaint that in proletarian literature all middle-class and capitalistic characters are villains, shows how sensitive these people are to their class viewpoint. For that sweeping statement is not true.

What is true is that there are *some* rascals among the upper classes in these books; but there are also some rascals among the workers (and not necessarily scabs, either). But the "unbiased" critic discovering the former, says, "he is not the typical boss"; whereas in the latter case it does not occur to him to say, "he is not the typical worker." John Chamberlain, in his review of my *The Shadow Before* shows the same angle of approach. The parts of the book, he says, he "found incredible are those that deal with the dream fantasies of Marjorie Thayer. . . . The daughters of mill superintendents are likely to be frivolous, pretty, religious, charming, intelligent, ignorant, or anything else under the sun. . . ." but not, as was my mill superintendent's daughter, an extreme neurotic. Mr. Chamberlain, knowing lots of such girls, none of whom are neurotics, finds, therefore, my character a piece of badly conceived propaganda—"stacking the decks" he calls it. Of my four important strikers, the organizer was a neurotic (to a lesser degree), the girl betrayed a man to sleep with a scab, a third was a dipsomaniac, and the fourth a homosexual. Did it occur to Mr. Chamberlain to

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protest that he knew lots of workers and they weren't homosexuals, and that therefore I was stacking the decks against them? It never entered his mind. For they were workers; aliens, with whom Mr. Chamberlain has great sympathy; but aliens.

Another point where these critics betray the same attitude is in the statement that proletarian literature, to quote Mr. Adamic, "to have any effectiveness at all" must portray all classes. Now I agree that a gigantic work, such as *War and Peace,* is gigantic because of its sweep, taking in all classes, many races, armies, seemingly mankind. But I also believe that a work can confine itself to the portrayal of one class and still be a work of the first order, and I also believe our critics will agree with that statement — *when the one class portrayed is not the proletariat;* for do these gentlemen feel that Shakespeare has "no effectiveness at all" because he portrays conscientiously only the nobility, saving the other nine-tenths of Englishmen — bourgeois and proletariat — for villains and buffoons? I doubt it. I think it probable that Shakespeare's limiting his characters to the small ruling class appears quite natural to them; and I don't think Chekhov's portraying only the decaying aristocracy, and Flaubert, in *Madame Bovary,* the bourgeoisie, made those men's works seem ineffectual to them. These critics react against that limitation of scope only when it is practiced by a proletarian writer, real or so-called. Which brings me to my last point.

And that is I do not consider myself or most of the other writers to whom are directed these criticisms, writers, in the real sense, of proletarian literature, in spite of being so labeled by the radical as well as the conservative press. We look forward to a classless society; and we write of all classes from that angle; but in the case of a number of us—which are the ones of whom I speak —our antecedents and training were completely middle-class. To the best of our abilities as artists—or, anyhow, to the best of my ability: I can't of course, speak for the others—I have expressed the thoughts, lives, and struggles of the workers; but I could no more hope to express the actual *being* of the proletariat than I could, were I, say, an ardent Francophile, hope to express what under such circumstances I would probably call the soul of France. Knowing that limitation, I think most of us expected the small sales among workers which Mr. Adamic deplores. And as to his remedy, which really amounts to "writing down to the masses," I doubt that, even were we willing to do it, we would thus gain a large audience. Rather we—or at least I—write, not for the workers nor for any other class, but for the satisfaction of expressing my reactions to things that touched me deeply. I think that is probably true of the rest of "us"; and surely it is true of Gorki, a real proletarian writer.

For the real American proletarian writer will not be one like myself, nor will he be like the great California Democrat. So far, lack of leisure and education has handicapped possible material among the workers; and most of those who in the past did rise above the almost insurmountable—such as Jack London—did so by means of a restless bohemianism, a passionate individualism, that made them, for all their sympathy with their class, capable of expressing only their revolt against it. Those writers rose in days of individual hope and aspiration.

But today is a day of ever-growing mass hope and aspiration; and, as always, men and women best fitted to express the times surely will appear; that is, they will come from among the workers themselves.

Note: One other detail recently brought out by Michael Gold in his column, "Change the World!", in the Daily Worker: with books selling for the absurd price of $2.50 (non-fiction, $3.50 up) just what part of a worker's six to twenty dollars wages are to go for reading matter?

WILLIAM ROLLINS, JR.

Without Benefit of the A. F. of L.

UNION-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION IN THE "STRETCH-OUT," by Richard C. Nyman, in collaboration with Elliott D. Smith. Yale University Press, 1934. $3.

FOUR YEARS ago in *Labor and Textiles,* a book prepared under the direction of the Labor Research Association, we analyzed the "Pequot Plan," the system of union-management cooperation then in operation at the Salem, Massachusetts, plants of the Pequot Mills, formerly the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Co. This plan had been established in 1927. The union involved was the United Textile Workers of America, which has A.F. of L. jurisdiction over all the textile industries of this country. The Pequot Mills, with some 2,500 workers, were then claimed to be 100 percent unionized. It was the largest group of workers in any company having an agreement with the textile union.

In 1929 and 1930 when the textile workers, especially in the South, were being militantly led by the left-wing National Textile Workers Union, the A.F. of L. and the U.T.W. officials were approaching the mill owners, hat in hand. They offered them as a substitute for strikes this prize exhibit of employer-employe collaboration—the "Pequot Plan." It was proposed as the great solution for "labor troubles." The Taylor Society carried articles about it. George Soule and other liberals held it out as an "historic step forward" in personnel relations. A Hearst publication wrote it up in an article entitled "A Substitute for Bullets."

At that time we in the Labor Research Association severely criticized this plan. We said that it was being used by the company, one of the most profitable textile corporations in America, to speed up production and to intensify the exploitation of labor through its "labor extension" or stretch out operations. We showed that it would mean the demotion of scores of skilled workers and the discharge of many of the "less efficient." It was a scheme, we indicated, to prevent strikes and to poison the workers with illusions of employer-employe harmony. We showed that it was used also as an advertising scheme to push the sale of Pequot sheets and to give this company a temporary competitive advantage over other sheeting mills where similar speed-up schemes had not yet been adopted. We declared also that it further facilitated

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the corruption of the well-salaried union agents. Finally we pointed out that a scheme of this kind served to illustrate perfectly the impossibility of solving the contradictions of capitalist economy through any plans of union-management collaboration.

Now comes a book, *Union-Management in the "Stretch-Out,"* which in 200 carefully documented pages proves that our analysis of the Pequot "experiment" was entirely correct. The book is written by Richard C. Nyman and comes from no less an authority on the stretch out system than the Yale Institute of Human Relations, a group that has been studying the stretch out for nearly five years and which has yet to issue its full report on the subject. In his foreword to this volume, which deals with the application of stretch out in this single cotton mill (some 20 mills have been studied by the Institute for its final report), Mark A. May, executive secretary of the Institute, declares that this study is of great importance because it "reflects so clearly various types of conflict that inevitably arise from the social philosophy that now dominates the western world." This is perhaps a professor's way of hinting that class conflict was the basic contradiction which crumbled this particular experiment in class peace.

What did the plan try to do? Although introduced in a period of relative "prosperity," when Pequot was doing a lot better than other mills in this "sick industry," when the crisis came and profits fell it was used to put over wage cuts, one in 1931, another in 1932. "Labor extensions" were also eased through. Finally, in 1933, with further stretch out threatened, the rank and file revolted. The union officials could not stop them. An "illegal" strike was called in May, 1933, in the face of the united opposition of the local and international union officials. The strike was settled in July. Results: the seven-year-old plan of betrayal was killed; the stretch out was halted, and "research" discontinued; the weavers stayed on twenty looms instead of the twenty-four okayed by the union officials; an independent union was set up; a wage-increase was granted; seniority rights were maintained.

Events surrounding the introduction of the plan, the attempt to put over the stretch out and the calling of the strike, as presented in the pages of this book by one who shows every indication of favoring the philosophy and tactics of the union officialdom, expose the latter as: (1) upholding the company on almost every issue, including the introduction of the ruthless stretch out; (2) helping the company to sell its products (financing Pequot ads cost the union about $10,000 a year!) and actually interceding at Washington to get it government contracts; (3) refusing to sanction the strike against the stretch out (although openly admitting that it was very severe) and threatening expulsion to the workers if they called the strike.

The theory of the union officials was and still is, as their recent settlement of the general strike of September, 1934, clearly indicates, that the stretch out is acceptable as a necessary step in saving this capitalist industry, *if* the union has an agreement to supervise it with "joint research." The union officials want to show the company how speed-up can be put over, if the company will only entrust them with the job and arrange a check-off for union dues. The union leaders were thus, in effect, selling the employers speed-up with the union label on it. But they found to their dismay that the workers refused to assist in this unsavory transaction.

The Pequot strike of 1933 was not only against "research," a word which had come to connote both hell and damnation to the workers ("no more research" was a definite strike slogan). It was a strike against what research had led to—a pitiless speed-up, demotions, lay-offs, loss of jobs and the open perfidy of the union officials.

This book contains chapters not only on the strike, but on the whole devious workings of the plan. It shows unmistakably that "research" and the consequent stretch out "not only caused discharges and demotions, but began to cause actual working distress," which is the author's way of indicating extreme strain and fatigue for the workers.

Some results of the first stretch out which had been set up by the spring of 1931 in two major departments of the mill were: weavers formerly running thirteen looms now ran twenty; the average number of looms per weaver was raised by 69 percent; the number of weavers was cut from 306 to 183, or 40 percent (although some of the weavers were retained, but at lower pay, it was estimated that over 100 workers were fired outright from the weaving room alone in this first wave of stretch out); the number of spinners was cut from 168 to 89, or 47 percent. In both the weaving and spinning rooms "a substantial number of workers had to be demoted or transferred to less desirable jobs." Typically a weaver would be demoted from a job paying him on the average $27.55 a week to the job of battery filler which paid him only $16.55.

Of course the author, in spite of his surface super-impartiality (the book "does not attempt to relate the facts to any social philosophy. It does not attempt to draw conclusions . . ."), is wholly sympathetic with the company and with the workings of the system which creates capitalists who, incidentally, endow institutes of human relations. He seems to agree with those who, like the technician hired by the union officialdom to assist in the "joint research," contended that the plan would help the union officials "to educate . . . the workers to understand more fully the mutual problems of labor and management and to accept the need for mutual sacrifice to meet the new conditions."

In his story of the strike, the author refers to Ann Burlak, who went in to work with the strikers. She is not named, but is only referred to as the "girl Communist." However, Ann, it seems, was not "constructive," according to Nyman. Because, just think of it, she advised "the workers to remain on strike until all the demands of the management were withdrawn." However, an ex-mayor of Peabody, Mass.—a Socialist sympathizer—who proposed a "citizens committee" to end the conflict, is regarded as quite "constructive."

Nyman, however, is forced to admit that Ann, although not "constructive," was "attractive" and that "her personality was compelling and her manner self-assured and vivacious. As observed at work among the strikers on several occasions, she demonstrated an unusual ability to gain their confidence and even their admiration and to convince them that she was capable of aggressive leadership. . . . To an impression of sympathetic understanding she added a sense of vigorous confidence in their cause that refreshed the wilting spirits of the strikers and gave them new courage to 'stick it out.' . . . She also helped to bring a semblance of order out of chaos by suggesting tactics and plans for the conduct of the strike which served to increase cooperation and solidarity among its participants. And she was of invaluable aid because she was able to supply substantial funds and gain donations from other workers' organizations (actually she raised about $2,400 locally in

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seven weeks—R.D.) and even from some of the business houses of the community."

This, admits the Yale Institute of Human Relations scientist, was what the "girl Communist" was doing while the U.T.W. leaders were outlawing this mass uprising and smashing victory against the stretch out.

While dealing with the "personalities" of the strike, the author fails to mention or quote any of the concrete demands of the left wing led by Ann Burlak, although these were repeatedly stated in leaflets widely distributed at the time and still available to those researchers who care to look for them. And *these concrete demands were precisely those the strikers won,* in spite of the strike-breaking tactics of the mayor, the "citizens committee" and the union officialdom.

Finally we should add to the record a "document" that the author did not have, but which we would have been glad to lend him, a letter which shows beautifully the attempts of the Roosevelt government to crush the strike only a few days before it was settled victoriously. It is a part of a letter of Ann Burlak to the reviewer dated July 5, 1933:

> There is nothing special which I have for you on the Pequot strike, except that it is still solid. Also you should mention that after eight weeks of struggle, with the company, city politicians, and U.T.W. officials working to send them back to work on the company plan, the strikers voted to continue the strike. Enclosed find clipping of local paper (Salem News) on the vote.
>
> Last Saturday a solicitor from the Department of Labor in Washington—a Mr. Charles Wyzanscki, Jr.,—came here to gather information on the strike for Miss Perkins, or so he stated. He tried to convince strikers and me that now workers could put all their hopes in the National Recovery Bill which was a "godsend to the workers." He left town when the strikers didn't fall for his suggestion of going back to work and allowing the Advisory Board of the National Recovery Act to take the disputable issues in hand.

Thus the galaxy of strike-breakers was complete—from the local U.T.W. officials to the President's own Secretary of Labor. Against them the rank and file of the workers under militant leadership. Here is a strike with some real lessons for all of us.

ROBERT W. DUNN.

Vridar Hunter Betrayed

WE ARE BETRAYED, by Vardis Fisher. Doubleday, Doran & Co., and Caxton Printers, Ltd. 369 *pages.* $2.50.

VARDIS FISHER began his tetralogy, of which *We Are Betrayed* is the third volume, with the avowed intention of presenting with pitiless realism the full-bodied story of a man's life. In the first two books, *In Tragic Life* and *Passions Spin the Plot,* the character of Vridar Hunter, a neurotic and "idealistic" youth, was adeptly and solidly established. Vridar's "idealism," however, was from the beginning nebulous, and in *We Are Betrayed* ends in confusion. Plagued by delusions of literary grandeur, Vridar torments his unintellectual wife, Neloa, because she cannot share the paper glamor of a life drawn from books. But his "good books" are unfathomable to Neloa. The abtruse revelations he goes goggle-eyed over, mean nothing to her as to any rational being. At the same time he is still beset by violent jealousy; at intervals he swoons, vomits frequently, breaks and goes mad, runs berserk through the black night, alternately weeps and howls with insane laughter, and drowns his spiritual unrest in whiskey. Suicide becomes a yearning, but can never find a self-destroying implement at the right time. Women lust after him, but his response is the cold detachment of a scientist; he copulates with amorous Blanche Olson in the park as dispassionately as a medical student probing viscera.

In short, he is such a preposterous and incredible character that the reader often wearies of his absurd postures, of his volcanic inner ferment which has no affinity with earth, air, fire or water or any understandable element. He hates modern society, but his hatred of it is as pointless and confused as his mind, which veers this way and that, easily diverted by some blinding revelation derived from the printed word.

The part of the book devoted to Vridar's *liaison* with Athene Marvell at times reminds one of some of Stephen Leacock's earlier burlesques in which the characters are eternally "analyzing" themselves and one another. Vridar and Athene set out to be "brave," "fair," "frank," etc., and pass each other philosophical bon bons, but everything ends in a mess, culminating in his wife's suicide, after which he swoons again, goes mad, and makes absurd vows beside her coffin.

It is a tribute to Mr. Fisher's art to say that he is able to hold the reader's interest in Vridar and what is going to become of the ridiculous fellow. In spite of his idiosyncrasies, Vridar is clothed in the flesh and blood of reality, but he is real only as an eccentric and a source of wonder. As in the other volumes of the series, the prose is dexterous and often lyrical; there is never any discernable straining for novelty of phrase which, when it becomes a fetich, emasculates what it seeks to enrich; but there are perhaps too many erudite quotations culled from the delvings of Vridar.

The editor of a literary review now gone the way of all little magazines to dusty death, once rejected a story which he professed to admire, on the ground that it fell short in "agony of the spirit." He went on to compare the work of the two friends, Zola and Huysmans, the former dealing with "the degradation of the body," the latter with "the agony of the spirit."

There is too much Huysmans and not enough Zola in *We Are Betrayed.* Vridar's fantastic inner world and his spiritual tremors, despite Mr. Fisher's considerable skill in picturing them, are not as important to the reader as a more tangible and material world and more vital woes. Something might be lost in microscopic intensity, but there would be a sure gain in a sense of intimate contact with those universal symbols which make the reader feel he is learning about not only a breathing human, but one whom he can understand.

JACK CONROY.

Civilization Rampant

NEW SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY, by Stanley Vestal. University of Oklahoma Press. $3.50

THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES, by Grant Foreman. University of Oklahoma Press. $4.

IT HAS aptly been said of the Puritan fathers that upon landing upon these shores, they first fell prayerfully upon their knees and then upon the aborigines. Centuries of cruel aggression against Indians followed as the domain of the whites was extended into the South and the West, the tale of which has never been adequately told from the point of view of the dispossessed natives. The conquering whites have painted the picture in the gaudy, romantic colors of the triumph of the agents of civilization over fierce scalping savages. Manifesting the boastful self-righteousness characteristic of all imperialistic invaders, they have concealed their ruthless slaughter of innocents and the scandalous record of chicanery, fraud and treachery in which not exceptional individuals, but the entire American governmental apparatus was involved. The slogan "There are no good Indians but dead Indians" was not merely a tragic jest but was the expression of the conscious native policy of a large and influential group in United States government circles. It had its genesis in unrestrained avarice and left in its wake grim horrors of Indians ejected from lands stolen from them by force and by

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false contract, dying by murder and by starvation and disease because of promises broken and faith betrayed.

Efforts of sympathizers of Indians at relating this story of rapacity have been justifiably intense with indignation and condemnation. But historians largely dominated by chauvinistic animus, have been remiss in documenting this unsavory aspect of American history with the many revealing source materials preserved in government archives and in the records of pioneers. The works in the *Civilization of the American Indian* series of which the books under review are the seventh and eighth volume to appear, have made an excellent beginning in this practically neglected field. Vestal's book which takes up documents relating to the ignoble treatment accorded Sitting Bull and the Sioux is far superior to Forman's study of the pioneering efforts of the Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaw and Seminole after their forced migration to Oklahoma. The former is marked by a greater understanding of Indian life and thought, a more coherent and skillful presentation of the poignant drama of Indian-white contact, and is in general more discerning in interpretations. The pitiful tragedies depicted in the pages of these books, are searing even when presented with scholarly, even pedantic objectivity. They cannot be dismissed by declaring, as does Charles Beard, in his *Rise of American Civilization* that they are "deeply rooted in the very constitution of the universe." The success of the governmental policy toward national minorities in the Soviet Union proves conclusively that the contact of diverse races and cultures need not lead to the decimation of the natives, when the motives of profit and imperialist aggression are absent, and the rulers are devoted to the welfare and interests of the masses of the population.

BERNHARD J. STERN.

Book Notes

AN anthology of American proletarian literature will be issued early this spring by International Publishers. The book will include fiction, poetry, literary criticism, drama, reportage, and workers' correspondence. It will be edited by Granville Hicks, Michael Gold, Isidor Schneider, Paul Peters, Joseph North, and Alan Calmer. A general introduction will deal with the contributions of proletarian literature in this country and the problems of revolutionary writing today. Short critical forewords to each section of the volume will also be included. The editors and publishers are working to make this volume a representative collection of contemporary proletarian literature in the U. S.

Original manuscripts of Marx, Engels, and Lenin will be on display at the Workers' Bookshop, 50 East 13th Street until Feb. 21, in commemoration of Lenin's anniversary.

The growing collaboration on the revolutionary art front is indicated in the announcements of the prize-winners in the contest for choral workers sponsored by the International Music Bureau, of which the Workers Music League is the American section. An American composer, Jacob Schaeffer, of New York, shared with an American poet honors in the divided second prize. Schaeffer's composition was written to a text by Gorky, while Heinrich Bruch of Moscow wrote the music to Langston Hughes' poem, "Song of a Black Girl." Complete information on the contest may be had from the Workers' Music League, 799 Broadway, New York.

New York is applauding a remarkable new Russian movie, *Chapayev,* (Cameo Theatre) an attempt at an actual historical biography as such, rather than fictionized on the screen. International Publishers is producing the actual biography by D. Furmanov, who was attached to the Red Division commanded by Chapayev in the Russian Civil War. The book is being published this month.

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The Theatre

Waiting for Lefty

ON Jan. 5, when the curtain rang down on the first performance of Clifford Odets' *Waiting for Lefty* the audience cheered, whistled and screamed with applause. One week later when the same actors had repeated their performance, the Fifth Avenue Theatre, packed to capacity with hundreds of standees, fairly burst with a thunder of hand-claps and shouting. A valuable new play had been written into the history of the American revolutionary theatre, a dramatic work with roots coiled about an actual event in the life of the New York proletariat. (It was Joe Gilbert, Secretary of the Taxi Drivers' Union, who emerged from the wings to say that just such a meeting as Odets presents took place last March when members of the Union met in the Bronx and overwhelmingly voted to strike.)

And yet the audience went away not altogether sure that it was a play that had electrified them to the marrow. Some of them referred to it as an unforgettable experience but a disjointed, structurally arbitrary piece of playwriting, in which the union meeting was a convenient device for tying together dramatically unintegrated scenes. The actors felt no such flaw. Intoxicated by the tension of the rapid, compact episodes, they forgot to pull their punches during the tussles. The spectator, however, may feel uncertain that the play is a dramatic entity. But a second seeing provides sufficient perspective for discerning in the juxtaposition of scenes a clear logic binding them into a solid, dramatic whole.

The first of the eight scenes opens on the union meeting. At once the audience is tied into the action as members of the strike meeting shout from the floor to the speakers on the stage who address not one another, but the entire house. A slick union misleader tries to pour oily words on the rebellious rank and file who challenge him from the floor and riddle his pussyfooting periods with pungent, hard-boiled guffaws. Confident that they can carry the decision to strike, they are marking time, awaiting the arrival of their spokesman, Lefty. But Lefty is still absent. One of them, Joe Mitchell, demands the floor. He wants to tell what happened to him. And as he begins to talk the setting blends into a new scene where his story is acted.

It is brief, turbulent, final. Bringing home his miserable earnings and expecting sympathy from his wife, he receives her icy scorn instead. She is through with her wretched existence, and through with a man too yellow to do anything about it. Faced with losing his wife or fighting for a decent life for her and his children, he is momentarily lost before these iron alternatives. In a scene packed with intensity and knife-like dialogue, he rises to the one decision and runs off to join his comrades in the call for strike.

Suddenly the audience discovers a chemistry worker in the office of his employer. He is given a raise. Learning that his researches are used for war chemistry he is racked by the memory of his brother murdered by the last war. Yet needing the money, he accepts. When he is told his job includes spying on a fellow worker, the hate that has been rising during the interview seizes upon him. He lashes his employer with insinuations which glance off the latter who shrugs and retorts with suave cynicism. Finally, no longer able to bridle his fury, he drives his fist into his enemy's face. This young worker, facing alternatives essentially analogous to those which confronted Joe Mitchell in the previous scene, struggles to reach a decision—and arrives at exactly the same conclusion that Mitchell reached in the previous scene. So far the playwright has shown a typical segment of taxi-workers in their evolution toward militancy and he has emphasized its emotional and ideological significance by extending this situation to another locale of the class-struggle. The dramatic parenthesis which Scene III affords is far more than a flash-back: it is a broadening of the scope of the play by an authentic and original departure in dramatic form.

In the scenes that follow the same method may be discerned. A young hackie at his sweetheart's home. Three years of waiting and working (she is a sales-clerk) but no better off today! He has finally determined to give her up rather than marry her into a starvation existence. To cover up his suffering he tries to dance, wisecrack, buffoon—but both of them break down. In a frantic attempt to make out why they are being sacrificed, they grope with pathetic generalizations. This masterly scene compresses into a few minutes of dialogue and action the pain inflicted on millions of American workers who are unaware of the pitiless logic of their positions in a system responsible for their tragedies. The parenthesis to this episode follows as Scene V: the office of a casting director living islanded in decadence. An actor as much at sea about the world as the hackie of the previous scene tries to get a job and fails. But the parallel between these two situations is made dynamic. Before turning from the office in bewildered despair, the young actor runs into a fusillade of words from the secretary, a class-conscious worker who tries to telescope her whole revolutionary philosophy into a half-dozen speedy sentences.

Ordinarily her sloganizing would seem mechanical and flat, but coming after a previous scene whose power was built with nuances of action and understatement, the oversimplified speech manages to carry. From the viewpoint of structure it ties into the next scene: the strike meeting which is still waiting for Lefty. The audience long identified as witnesses at the meeting where it has heard individual stories of the rank and file, now watches the union's misleader pull out his trump card. He brings on Clancy who's going to tell from his own experience in Philadelphia just why strikes don't work. But before Clancy lets drop many lies, one of the rank and file leaps up from the audience and runs to the platform to accuse him of being a paid company agent with a long strike-breaking record. The ensuing physical clash that threatens the meeting is dramatically resolved in one taut moment: the accuser reveals that he has been exposing his own brother.

During this scene the rank and file workers emerge from under the smooth lies of their opponents whom they begin to recognize as such. They are fiercely determined on straightforward action. And in the parenthetical scene that follows, the same progression is traced. An interne, whose patient has been killed by an incompetent colleague with "influence," demands an explanation. His elderly chief, who has watched corruption strangle scientific work throughout his career, tells him more than he bargained for, among others things that he is fired—retrenchment closes the charity ward first! With studied moderation he manages to channel the interne's sputtering rebelliousness into the direction of organized militancy.

By the opening of the final scene, therefore, the clear revolutionary path has been exposed; now it is up to the union membership to take it. Through a brief scene of rapid-fire action the rank and file rises in an uncompromising body, to demand "Where is Lefty?" When one of their number rushes in with the news that Lefty has been found murdered they don't wait to ask who ordered the job, or if it was a cold-blooded effort to abort the strike. Flaunting the

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doublecrossers, who no longer try to protest, a rank and filer immediately assumes the role left vacant for Lefty. In an electric appeal to the meeting he demands that it vote to strike, and the play ends with the whole house—actors and audience—yelling "Strike, strike, strike!"

The terrific emotional drive of the play as a unit is more than the total effectiveness of the eight scenes. Here the whole is decidedly more than the sum of its parts. In fact some of the weaker scenes derive added power from their position in the thematic development. This does not mean that they could not be profitably strengthened. The encounter between the casting director's secretary and the semi-stunned actor is elliptical; that the audience accepts it as it now stands cannot condone its weak drama. To a lesser degree the same criticism can be made of the final scene. Its effect now depends on hair-trigger timing and sheer dynamics of acting which J. Edward Bromberg manages with effect. But a fuller writing of the close would take the burden off histrionics and give the finale the firmness it requires.

One basic reason for the impressiveness of *Waiting for Lefty* is the idiom used throughout. The phrases are pungent, fresh, simple, mobile, the ringing speech of flesh and blood proletarians. This all too rare ingredient keeps the play racing at a robust tempo but occasionally it intoxicates the author. The result is almost a cancellation of the necessary effect; a tense moment vitiated by a wisecrack. When the young hackie reiterates "He don't know from nothin', that dumb basketball player," he all but undermines the poignancy of the scene. When the worker who exposes his brother in Scene VI adds, "The Clancy family tree is bearing nuts," the audience, until that point held tight by the clash of forces, is let down into a laugh by a dramatically unfortunate pun.

These flaws of oversimplification and gratuitous humor (which may easily be remedied in future performances) are minor matters when considering the play as a whole. The actors (the cast of *Gold Eagle Guy*) have given magnificent performances, Kazan and Carnovsky in particular. And the simplicity of the production is extraordinarily successful. Its author, actors and producers deserve every congratulation on an impressive contribution to the revolutionary theatre.

STANLEY BURNSHAW.

Artef Presents "Dostigayev"

DOSTIGAYEV is the second part of Gorky's trilogy portraying the complex and interesting class forces that led up to the Bolshevik revolution. The play covers the eventful months between July and November, 1917. The central theme is the accelerated disintegration, the moral decay of the Russian bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia preceding the fall of Kerensky and the Bolshevik seizure of power. Here are the Church and State functions, the great pillars of the economic structures, the thinkers and ideologists of the various bourgeois trends all exposed under the rays of Gorky's penetrating analysis.

Dostigayev himself, the central character, is a wealthy industrialist, and the intellectual giant of his group. Realizing the inevitability of the proletarian revolution, he concludes that adaptation is, under the circumstances, the better part of valor. Through crudely understood Darwinism, he comes to the conclusion that survival of the fittest means adaptability, opportunism, the deliberate adoption of protective coloring. The Bolshevik leader whom he attempts to flatter, sees through his tactics, and at the end of the play, when the Bolsheviks assume power, Dostigayev and his family are under arrest.

In Dostigayev, we see the potential saboteur, the wrecker, the specialist who worms his way into the proletariat's confidence and then at the most crucial point betrays it. The famous Industrial Party Trial revealed a whole gallery of people of the Dostigayev type.

Unlike the *Recruits,* the Artef hit of this season, which is a highly theatrical play, *Dostigayev* is largely a work of mood and psychological nuances. Its realism calls for exquisitely subtle technique. The slightest trace of theatricality, the slightest discordant note is fatal in such a play. That the Artef director was aware of the problem and made every effort to solve it is clear. Yet the total impression is not wholly satisfactory. Everything seems to be there—good acting, fine scenic designs, good translation of text—yet something vital, something that would make the play a stirring reality, is missing. And it seems to me that the major fault is the mistaken notion that slow tempo is synonymous with the mood of the play.

JOSHUA KUNITZ.

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The British Are Coming, Boom!

ROBERT FORSYTHE

THE ENGLISH are a marvelous people and if they have doubts about it, Hollywood will reassure them. Over the weekend there were at least three pictures in the Times Square area which made it plain that the British were ill advised in wasting the money on the Hessians in the Revolutionary War. In due course the Mother country will have the return of the Colonies at no greater expense than the exchange of an occasional English leading man. Peter Ellis has had enough to say about *Lives of a Bengal Lancer* (Paramount), made from the title of the book by F. Yeats-Brown, who started as an English patriot, progressed to the Douglas Plan and was last seen taking the veil of Fascism.

What I have to report on now are *David Copperfield* (M-G-M) which had its world premiere at The Capitol and *Clive of India* (United Artists) which was at the Rialto. Of the former I am grieved to remark that it was overdone to the point where it will be regarded seriously among the great pictures of the year. W. C. Fields, as was the case in *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch,* had so little to do as Micawber that he was practically wasted. The film was handled with that peculiar reverence which marks the Beverly Hills approach to an Oxford accent and there was never any doubt that when English hearts beat at all, they beat warmly. The producers never reached the point of insinuating that the horrid gentleman who became David's step-father was of suspicious foreign birth but it was evident that he did not belong to the proper stock. In all justice to the step-father, who was a gentleman of such virulence that there would have been scenes of public indignation if he had been cast as a White Russian general, little David was more than a trifle on the priggish side. He may not have deserved the smacking around he received from his new papa but I must admit that he annoyed me. When Frank Lawton took over David at a later age, I had trouble retaining my seat but that may be set down to a constitutional aversion to Mr. Lawton's particular brand of saccharine. It is all very well for the young British to be charming but I really must ask that they cease running over.

I had occasion recently to remark upon the zeal with which Hollywood directors seize upon such accidents of nature as rain, wind storms, snow and tempests at sea. George Cukor, who was responsible for *David Copperfield,* has them all. No female character is permitted to emerge into the open air unless she is breasting a gale and having her garments flattened against her in such a way that I sat through entire scenes with my hand discreetly shading my brow. It is only fair to say that Mr. Cukor was having his troubles. He was not only determined to show that a Hollywood director was capable of appreciating the sterling qualities of the English but he had to get all the book into the picture lest he agitate William Lyon Phelps and others who have read nothing since Dickens. As a result the action becomes so jumpy and sketchy in the late portions of the film that it attains the literary quality of an early Tom Mix. Master David is almost lost in the confusion and his nitwitted wife dies with such promptness after a meal in honor of Aunt Betsey and Mr. Dick that an untutored spectator could do nothing but suspect treachery.

Roland Young as Uriah Heep walked off with the picture. He was humble in the proper hand-wringing manner but he employed a hypocritical smile which was even more successful in showing that Mr. Heep did not have the interests of Mr. Wickfield at heart. Mawster David and Micawber finally confound him, however, and bring the picture, thank heaven, to an end. There is the subsidiary plot of Pretty Emily and Mawster David's faithless friend but the only possible excuse for it, cinematically, is the storm at sea. As I have said, however, the producers had little choice. They could either get every comma in or be accused of mutilating a masterpiece. The only difference is that they mutilated it with all hands present and going down bravely with the ship.

Everything is done about two degrees too high or two cloys too sweet. There are portions which are colorful in the same way that any scene played in crinoline and tight pants and tall beaver hats is colorful but in essence the production bored me. I am eager to hear what the English think of it.

It is my feeling that they will enjoy *Clive of India* a great deal more. From this they will learn anew that the English are an honorable race who are finally beaten down to the point where they will accept the burden of such places as India and South Africa. The film proves rather conclusively that the English fought desperately against the gift of India from Clive. The government was always being embarrassed in this manner by adventurers who stole a country from the natives and then insisted upon turning it over to the home folks, who only took it because of their love of humanity and their feeling that even the smallest land was entitled to a trace of British management.

Ronald Colman sacrifices his mustache and plays Clive. The picture dwells only lightly upon the economic consequences of his maneuvers in India. It is concerned more particularly with his love life and his personal affairs. As Richard Watts, Jr., pointed out in the New York Herald-Tribune with his customary astuteness, Mr. Zanuck would have been better served if he had taken the version of G. A. Henty rather than the tame London play from which the movie was fashioned. He might have lost a few friends in Surrey if he had ventured to show the Indian robbery in its true historical light but he would have made a more exciting film and could doubtless have overcome the loss of the English market by his success elsewhere. Hollywood made a jumping jack and a buffoon out of Pancho Villa and there is tendency to exaggerate every historical figure in the same way. . . . This, from the strange notion that a fake character is always more engaging than an actual one. When they have had a look at *Chapayev* they may change their minds.

The pictures will be received in England with more than the usual gratitude because the late English boom seems to be fading. They need a bucking up after the most recent collapse of the idea that good old Albion could become prosperous no matter what went on in the rest of the world. The returning travelers have been as one in testifying to the gaiety of old Lunnun. The cafes were crowded, the theatres were crowded,

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the English were laughing at the New Deal and the Five Year Plan and anything but staunchness and muddle through. You had to give it to the British. They didn't run after false gods, they didn't lose their heads. Such crackbrained disaffected ones as the Communists kept insisting that nothing had been changed and that nothing was all right but the profits of the upper few—but who listened to maniacs of that type? It was when David Lloyd George made his speech that the first fissure was noticed in the solid wall of content. It was discovered that business was slowing to a walk and that the Conservatives were quite willing to listen to Lloyd George or any other Liberal magician who could keep them from doing what they would eventually be compelled to do. No more than two weeks ago the New York Times was boasting of Britain's recovery. Last week they had changed the tune.

A little touch of Clive, a little sentiment about David Copperfield, a little reminder that ten good British Lancers are better than a province in India may come in handy in Piccadilly Circus. If somebody in Beverly Hills doesn't get the Order of the Garter after this burst, there is no honor in Westminster and no balm in Gilead.

Between Ourselves

THE series beginning this week, "Wall Street's Fascist Conspiracy," represents a collective effort. Working together with John L. Spivak in gathering the material were Marguerite Young, of the Washington Bureau of The Daily Worker, Sender Garlin of The Daily Worker staff, and others whose special positions as experts in financial affairs make it impossible to mention their names. A parallel series is being presented simultaneously in The Daily Worker.

Phil Bard, Jacob Burck, Hugo Gellert, William Gropper, Russell Limbach, Walter Quirt, William Siegel, James Guy, Anton Refregier, Louis Lozowick and other artists who contribute to THE NEW MASSES are among the regular and guest instructors for the new term of the John Reed Club School of Art, opening Monday, Feb. 4.

The school is now in its fifth year. The curriculum includes drawing and painting from life; mural painting and composition; sculpture; political cartoon; lithography; chemistry of artists' media; woodcuts; poster design and lettering. Others who serve as regular or guest instructors include: Nicolai Cikovsky, A. Harriton, A. Goodelman, Kenneth Chamberlain, Robert Minor, Jacob Friedland, Raphael Soyer, Gene Morley, Marya Morrow, Ben Shahn, and others.

The address of the Mid-West Bureau of THE NEW MASSES and the Chicago Branch of the Friends of THE NEW MASSES is Room 1115, 123 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

New Masses Lectures

Friday evening, Jan. 25, John L. Spivak, "America Faces Pogroms," Brighton Beach Workers Center, 3200 Coney Island Ave., B'klyn, N. Y. Auspices: Bill Haywood Branch of International Labor Defense.

Saturday evening, Jan. 26, John L. Spivak, "Fascism in the U. S.," 316 W. 57th St., New York City. Auspices Rank and File Teachers.

Tuesday evening, Jan. 29, William Browder "The Middle Class Must Choose," City Hall, Omaha, Nebraska.

Wednesday evening, Jan. 30, John L. Spivak, "Pogroms in America," Savoy Mansion, 6322 20th Ave., B'klyn, N. Y. Auspices: Mapleton Branch, American League Against War and Fascism.

Thursday evening, Jan. 31, William Browder, "The Middle Class Must Choose," John Reed Club, 312 West State St., Milwaukee. Auspices: Friends of The New Masses.

Friday evening, Feb. 1, William Browder, "The Middle Class Must Choose," 185 North Wabash Ave., Room 818, Chicago. Auspices: Friends of The New Masses.

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